DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 417 242 UD 032 182

AUTHOR Ethiel, Nancy, Ed.
TITLE Saving Our Children: Can Youth Violence Be Prevented? An Interdisciplinary Conference (Wheaton, IL, May 20-22, 1996).
INSTITUTION Harvard Univ., Cambridge, MA. Center for Criminal Justice.
SPONS AGENCY McCormick Tribune Foundation, Chicago, IL.
ISBN ISBN-0-88086-029-4
PUB DATE 1996-05-00
NOTE 90p.
PUB TYPE Reports - Evaluative (142)
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC04 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Conferences; *Cost Effectiveness; High Schools; Inner City; Junior High Schools; Males; Minority Groups; *Prevention; Program Effectiveness; Program Evaluation; Sex Role; Social Problems; *Urban Youth; *Violence

ABSTRACT

Recognizing that violence is demographically concentrated in the male minority in inner cities is a necessary starting point for discussions of how to combat this violence. A conference on the prevention of youth violence was held in May 1996 to throw light on the problem of youth violence directly and specifically. Participants in this conference wanted to focus on prevention rather than enforcement, although there was no intent to disparage the importance of traditional law enforcement. The conference report in this volume begins by detailing trends in youth violence and the social conditions that underlie it. Then presentations that are reviewed evaluates the cost-effectiveness of specific programs to reduce violence and presentations that discussed personal experiences in implementing programs. The following sections summarize the messages of various conference presenters and participants: (1) "Can We Prevent Youth Violence?"; (2) "The Situation"; (3) "Evaluating Programs Intended To Reduce Youth Violence"; (4) "Early Intervention: A Cure for Violence?"; (5) "Making a Difference in Junior High and High Schools"; (6) "Police-Based Programs"; (7) "Is Looking for Workable Programs Missing a Broader Point?"; (8) "When Can Good Programs Be Replicated and Expanded?"; and (9) "What Has a Real Prospect of Reducing Youth Violence." Appendix A discusses attitudes toward marriage and gender as they affect youth violence. Appendix B contains "There Are No Children Here" by Alex Kotlowitz. A listing of the nine papers presented at the conference is attached. (Contains 30 figures.) (SLD)

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Saving Our Children:

Can Youth Violence Be Prevented?

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Cover image uses model to depict crime

Saving Our Children: Can Youth Violence Be Prevented?

Harvard Law School
Center for Criminal Justice

An Interdisciplinary Conference
May 20-22, 1996
Cantigny
Wheaton, Illinois

Nancy Ethiel, Editor

Funded by the Robert R. McCormick
Tribune Foundation

Saving Our Children:
Can Youth Violence Be Prevented?

Published by:
Harvard Law School

ISBN: 0-88086-029-4

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Design and Production:
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Table of Contents

Foreword 5
- Preventing Crime Through Anti-Violence Programs 6
- Policy Makers Have Undervalued Developmental and Situational Remedies for Crime 7
- The Underutilized Alternatives for Preventing Youth Violence 7
- The Report on the Conference 8

Introduction 10

Can We Prevent Youth Violence? 11

The Situation 12
- Changes in the Family 17
- The Functions of Adolescent Violence 25
- Legal and Illegal Work: Crime, Work and Unemployment 29

Evaluating Programs Intended to Reduce Youth Violence 31
- A Cost-Benefit Evaluation of Programs Intended to Divert Children from Crime 31
- Evaluating the Cost-Benefit Evaluation: Does Greenwood's Analysis Hold Up? 34
- The Seattle Project: A Program That's Working 35

Early Intervention: A Cure for Violence? 40
- What Are We Trying to Prevent? 40
- Long-Term Effects of Early Childhood Programs 40
- The Importance of Elementary School 43
- Avance: A Family Support Program that Works 45

Making a Difference in Junior High and High Schools 48
- Violence Prevention for 11- to 18-Year-Olds 49
- The Role of Law Enforcement in Schools 51
- Three Popular Proposals: Uniforms, Zero Tolerance of Guns, and After-School Programs 53

Police-Based Programs 58
New York City 58
The Police and the Prevention of Youth Violence 59
On the Streets 61
In Smaller Cities: An Experimental Program 63

Is Looking for Workable Programs Missing a Broader Point? 65
Is American Society Off the Track? 65
What Does It Take to Raise a Village? 67

When Can Good Programs Be Replicated and Expanded? 69
Providing Organizational Development Assistance 69
Creating Community Support 71
Replicating a Good Program: Getting It Rolling on the Ground 72

What Has a Real Prospect of Reducing Youth Violence? 74
A Short List of Suggestions for Violence Prevention 75
How Can We Save Our Children? 75

Appendix A: Attitudes Toward Marriage and Gender as They Affect Violence 76
The Value of Marriage 76
The Issue of Gender 77

Appendix B: There Are No Children Here 79

Papers Presented at the Conference 85

Conference Participants 86

Foreword

There is plainly something very wrong with the way our democratic institutions are dealing with the problem of violent crime at the national level. The prescriptions of both conservative and moderate politicians could be compared to a powerful vise whose arms, despite enormous effort, never quite meet. The President speaks of sixty thousand criminals being denied guns because of the Brady Bill. But how many of these people later obtained a gun from a friend, or on the black market, or by theft, or through better-forged documentation, or in another state? Conservatives argue for greatly expanding the number of prisons, and then filling them. But the advantages of this approach depend upon who will be put in prison and for how long. Democrats speak of a hundred thousand new police on the street. But how much this helps and for how long depends upon where the police are placed, what they do, and whether the cities will pick up their cost after the few years that the federal government is willing to bear it. Thus debate continues at a level of generality about the problem of violence and possible solutions to it that is far too vague to be useful.

Though little in the world of violence has changed since the early 1970s, and, overall, violence has not increased, we do have one dramatic new problem of violence in the United States, and that is the burst of youth violence, closely associated with gun use, that occurred about the time of the arrival of crack cocaine in the mid-1980s. Though the growth in youth violence began to turn around in the mid-1990s, homicide figures are still far in excess of anything we have known before.

Recognizing where the youth violence problem is, seeing that it is demographically concentrated in male, minority youth in inner cities, is the necessary starting point for any discussion of how our democracy can address the issue. It is also the case that in that same narrow demographic and geographic band lives a great majority of the victims of violent crime, an unusually high percentage of the unemployed, too many children in single-parent families, a concentration of drug problems, and of many of the other ills of an underclass.

This massive concentration of ills reminds us that there may be limits to what can be accomplished either by law enforcement or by discrete programs that address violence. Donald Hernandez described for the conference immense changes—generally for the worse—in the world of childhood. Rapid increases in the number of single-parent families and in the relative and often absolute poverty in which children are growing up are having their effects. So is unemployment, for a rich variety of reasons ranging from its effect on the likelihood of a child's father being present to the structuring of an adolescent's life and hopes. These conditions encourage violence, and violence encourages some of these conditions. But they are likely to be addressed, if at all, only in broader terms—such as President Clinton's proposals for empowerment and enterprise zones—not in ways that deal specifically with how to prevent violence.

The conference on prevention of youth violence held at the Cantigny Estate of the McCormick Tribune Foundation in May 1996 was intended to throw light on the problem of youth violence directly and specifically. Imagine that the mayor of a large American city wanted to know exactly what to do to address the dangers of youth violence in the decade ahead. What approaches could we offer to him or her?

First, we would have to sort out the problems of politics from the problems of policy. After the Presidential election campaign of 1996, none of us needs to be reminded of how important crime is to politics—nor of how important politics is to crime policy. At the heart of both of these issues is fear. Although overall violent crime has not increased since the early '70s, and is at present in a downswing, it remains close to the top of American concerns. And although youth violence is concentrated in a demographically narrow band, the fear of it is felt deeply by a far wider segment of the American population.

There are two ways a democratic population can respond to its fear of violence. It can, and to a significant extent should, respond with anger and retribution designed to send a clear message about what the society expects of its citizens. This is what we have been doing, but the message is only understood by those who feel themselves a valued part of the society and whose trusted associates also embrace the message. Where the message is not understood, punishments will be ineffective as deterrence, though dangerous people will still be incapacitated in ever greater numbers. Our prison population has tripled since 1980, and it continues to grow astronomically. The numbers of people behind bars are, most experts believe, contributing to the recent reduction in violent crime—although at great cost, as the experience with California's "Three Strikes" law has shown.

Preventing Crime Through Anti-Violence Programs

The other approach to dealing with the fear is to attempt to add to punishment a variety of preventive efforts, to reduce danger in the most cost-effective ways. Exploring what we know about ways of reducing danger through prevention was our objective at Cantigny.

The wide range of possibilities for preventing youth violence can be described in this way. At the moment that violence occurs, we have (1) an individual with certain long-term inclinations and inhibitions (i.e., with a certain character) who (2) has put himself or found himself in an immediate situation that is more or less provocative in terms of temptations, opportunities, and/or freedom from the risks of punishment at the hands of law enforcement, (3) under the influence of such immediate stimulators of violence as alcohol or drugs, dangerous colleagues, gang membership, or observers responding to the occasion in ways that incite violence, and (4) in possession of the means to do harm—particularly weapons, but sometimes colleagues as well.

It is possible to reduce youth violence in either of two ways: by changing the situational variables (described as numbers 2, 3, and 4 above), including the risk of punishment, or by reducing the number of violence-prone individuals—people with dangerous characters—who are on the streets. We can do the second in either of two ways—by putting people who are already dangerous behind bars, where they cannot hurt the rest of us, or by intervening in the developmental processes that encourage them to grow into dangerous people. We know that the character an individual brings to a situation of violence is shaped by the nature of his family relationships since childhood, social forces and peer groups in the neighborhood, schools, and the individual's hopes, prospects, and sense of belonging in the legitimate world outside the neighborhood.

The great advantage of the first path—affecting the situational variables—is that it is generally cheaper and pays off more quickly. The advantage of a long prison sentence lies in the certainty that the individual will not harm those outside prison walls; the disadvantage is that it does not address the forces that may lead to that individual's being quickly replaced by someone else. This approach is also costly in financial and human terms, especially since we may, and often do, bear the variety of costs associated with imprisonment for a period longer than the violent career of the offender requires.

Taking the path of reducing the number of violence-prone people by changing the conditions that we know encourage this type of character not only decreases danger on the streets, but also is likely to produce benefits that are far broader than reduced violence: better education, less drug use, less teenage pregnancy, more productive labor, and better parenting. The disadvantage is that there is a long delay before the benefits of such programs can be realized. In addition, they must be made available long before it is possible to identify which individuals will be dangerous. This greatly increases the cost of reducing the number of dangerous people.

Our effort at Cantigny was to take seriously the possibilities of reducing youth violence by affecting the situations in which it occurs, or by taking steps that would "grow" fewer dangerous people in the years ahead. We wanted to identify the comparative advantages of this path, on the assumption that it is often neglected in favor of more arrests and longer imprisonment.

We were not trying to disparage the importance of traditional law enforcement. That would be foolish, for it has impacts throughout the four areas described above. Traditional law enforcement reinforces and shapes the immensely powerful forces of socialization that family, friends, neighborhoods, school, and the broader society bring to bear on each of us from earliest childhood; it is important in the development of character. Law enforcement isolates behind

bars many of society's most dangerous people, thereby also reducing the number of individuals inclined to violence who are at large. It affects the situation a violence-prone individual finds himself in by the deterrence effect of increasing the risk of punishment. And new forms of policing—not directed solely at long sentences for bad men—are among the important alternatives we explored, for these can affect other factors, from drug use and gang membership to the availability of guns, that help determine the amount of violence, as well as the degree of danger that violence brings with it.

A sudden explosion of youth violence such as we saw between 1985 and 1993 in many of our cities signifies that either socialization or the more direct consequences of law enforcement are not working adequately. Something new has come along to increase temptation, opportunity, or the danger inherent in violent encounters. Increasing the chance and length of punishment may help, although both theory and observation suggest that we have in practice over-valued the length of punishment compared to the chance of punishment (where there is room for much improvement). But placing complete reliance on deterrence of teenagers (who are unlikely to assess realistically the risk of being caught and the likely penalty, who are likely to be risk-prone in any event, and many of whom may see prison as a rite of passage, as well as being thoughtlessly responsive to intense peer pressures at the time of violence) or on incapacitation (which may be like putting a lid on a metaphorical bathtub without trying to turn off the faucet that is flooding our streets with new, violence-prone individuals) is obviously foolish.

Policy Makers Have Undervalued Developmental and Situational Remedies for Crime

Reacting to fear of hostile individuals with anger and a desire for retribution is as natural to humans as breathing, and responding to powerful messages from constituents is just as natural for political leaders. Attempts to deal with the problem of youth violence by creating greater safety will always have to compete with efforts to deal more directly with the powerful and broadly shared symptoms of the problem—fear and anger. Still, attention has begun to focus on ways we can change the situation in which violent people find or put themselves so as to reduce the risk of violence. President Clinton's efforts to restrict the types of guns and the types of gun purchasers fall into this category. The same is true of his major initiative to put more police on the street. But each of these is unfocused and too easily evaded. Far more important are the policing initiatives of former Police Commissioner Bill Bratton in New York City. Very different forms of preventive policing are demonstrably working to reduce violence elsewhere. The dramatic reduction of murder and other crime in our largest cities will perforce attract the attention of mayors everywhere.

Bringing attention to efforts to reduce the number of violence-prone teenagers through youth development is far harder. It is well worth reviewing the reasons for this. There is no powerful constituency urging the reduction of violence through developmental initiatives, although police chiefs are rapidly moving in this direction. Payoffs from developmental initiatives may be delayed. If a developmental initiative is addressed to all those who are broadly at risk because of their family, community, and economic situation, the initiative will be expensive, because it includes many who would never become violent. And if such an initiative improves the legitimate prospects of only those teenagers who have already shown themselves to be the worst risks, the moral message (rewarding the worst) is confused and confusing. These programs are also likely to be very difficult to replicate; success may often depend upon the ability of the local program leader to create dedication in staff and funders and hope among clients. And finally, factoring all these problems into an estimate of the likely payoff, as the discussion by Peter Greenwood revealed, is a complicated process that cannot easily be made persuasive to those who don't begin by trusting the experts.

The Underutilized Alternatives for Preventing Youth Violence

Despite the difficulties inherent in developmental approaches to violence prevention, this fact seems clear: we are wasting some of our best opportunities to increase safety, to reduce youth violence. In the final analysis, some programs do work to reduce the number of dangerous teenagers we grow or to reduce the danger of the situations in which we find violence-prone teenagers. And no emphasis on arrest, conviction, and punishment after the violent event has occurred can justify ignoring these alternatives.

Substantiating that claim requires being clear about what I mean by "working," and supplying evidence that

whatever criteria have been set will, in fact, be met by these alternative programs. A program could be said to work if it measures up to any of three possible criteria. Most generously, it works if its costs are exceeded by its total social benefits, including not only reduced crime but also improved health, family life, productivity, and so on. Programs to assist the most "at risk" families in parenting and their children in early schooling plainly "work" by this standard. A tougher criterion is whether the costs of the program are exceeded by their benefits in violence reduction alone. The toughest criterion of all is whether the ratio of benefits to cost of the program, using the restricted measure of violence reduction, is greater than those of more traditional law enforcement alternatives.

Deciding whether a program satisfies one or another of these criteria requires a careful evaluation of all the evaluations of the program. The research literature is, happily, including more and more of such "meta-evaluations." However, some evaluations are not made in terms of reduced violence, but in terms of effect on those conditions—"risk factors"—that often precede the violent activities of a dangerous teenager. Eliminating these less reliable forms of evaluation creates greater certainty about results, but at the expense of foregoing important immediate benefits. Some extremely promising programs have not been evaluated at all by experimental tests with random selection of participants. However, when their results seemed very clear, we did not exclude them from our discussion. For example, both after-school programs and school uniforms, though they have not yet been evaluated, seemed to the participants at Cantigny almost certain to reduce violence.

Finally, determining whether a program justifies attempting to replicate it in a new location or, far more broadly, across the United States requires factoring a set of additional complexities into the analysis. The organizational capacity to carry out the program may not be available elsewhere, as Denise Gottfredson reminded us. The program may have worked in its first location because of the enthusiasm that surrounds an experiment, or because of unusual care in carrying it out, or because of the high quality of staffing it drew in its experimental stage. The more complex the program, the less likely it can be repeated without losing effectiveness. Account must be taken of delays between the incurring of costs and the realization of benefits. And the benefits are likely to decline over time. All these problems were addressed by Peter Greenwood in his estimate of the cost-effectiveness of prevention programs.

There was little disagreement at the conference with Greenwood's conclusion that several types of programs designed to "grow" fewer dangerous teenagers satisfied the most stringent criteria. The programs he reviewed were rigorously evaluated, appropriately discounted for problems of time and replication, and yet plainly more cost-effective for reducing violence than the California "Three Strikes" law.

Greenwood had evaluated only four types of programs: parenting and day care combinations, helping parents and schools deal with children who were acting out at a relatively young age, graduation incentives, and programs to deal with relatively serious youth offenders. Those present broadly agreed that there were a number of other programs that could be confidently recommended to a mayor as a wise investment in the future of his or her city. These would include school uniforms, after-school programs in schools, efforts to reduce abuse and neglect of children and the number of abusive mothers, safe havens for battered women and their children, middle-school and high-school based programs for children and their parents, and policing that targets guns, dangerous gangs, and "hot spots." Each of these was thought to have benefits in terms of violence reduction that were very likely to exceed their cost and to be broadly replicable.

The Report on the Conference

Conference participants came from backgrounds that are diverse along a number of dimensions. There were community workers and college professors, police officers and child development experts; persons with immediate personal experience and persons who had studied the literature; persons whose inclinations lay in the direction of law enforcement and those who thought first of finding better ways to raise children.

The report that follows focuses sharply on our effort to develop and evaluate specific proposals that might be offered to a mayor to address the growing problem of youth violence. It begins by detailing the developing trends in youth violence, reviewing changes in the American family as a social and economic unit, defining the functions of adolescent violence, and discussing the impact of legal and illegal work opportunities. Then we turn to the presentations that eval-

uated the cost-effectiveness of very specific programs to reduce violence and those that discussed personal experiences in implementing various programs. After that, we address the areas of doubt about program-based approaches and of concern about the difficulties of replication. Finally, we summarize some of our conclusions.

We have included some materials as appendices solely because they are less focused on specific programs. Here is where the reader will find the moving words of Alex Kotlowitz, author of *There Are No Children Here*, as well as some broader discussions, addressing issues not in terms of individual proposals but in terms of more wide-ranging insights. I urge the reader to review these sections as carefully as the first part of the report. Although not specifically focused on programs, they are equally thought provoking.

Neither the report, which is the remarkably coherent product of a truly talented editor, Nancy Ethiel, nor the conference itself would have been possible without the generous funding and highly efficient planning and prodding of those associated with the McCormick Tribune Foundation. For the generous funding of the foundation, we owe thanks to Neal Creighton, its president, and Richard Behrenhausen, its vice-president. For the planning and management that made it run effectively, we owe particular thanks to Richard Friedman and Colleen Grady. For assistance to me with both the conference and the report, I owe a great deal to my assistant, Jody Clineff, and, as usual, to Ann Heymann.

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A list of papers presented at the conference on youth violence appears at the end of this report. To obtain a copy of any of these papers, contact:
http://roscoe.law.harvard.edu/groups/youth_violence/.

Introduction

America may be the most violent country in the developed world; our homicide rate among young men between the ages of 15 and 24 (the prime group for committing murders) is many times higher than that of any other industrialized nation. Over the last decades, the young have seemed to be growing ever more violent: Although fewer than one in five violent crimes is committed by juveniles, the violent crime arrest rate for juveniles tripled between 1965 and 1991. Why this explosion in youth violence? Can this increase be expected to continue? Are we raising a generation of "super predators"? What can be done to reverse this groundswell of violence among our children? To bring peace to America's cities?

These and other questions provided the stimulus for a conference on youth violence. Academics, police officials, representatives of local and federal government educators, and emissaries from community organizations and agencies met not just to share their knowledge and experience but to attempt to come up with a short list of effective and proven approaches for dealing with youth violence that could be replicated across the country.

Can We Prevent Youth Violence?

Harvard Law School's Philip Heymann, chairman of the conference, described its rationale. He said, "I know that most of you here care a great deal about children and about their having opportunities in life that depend on education, health, hope, staying out of jail, not getting shot, and a lot of other things. But I think there's a much larger group of people in the United States who care much more about the sense of danger and the lack of safety they feel personally than they care about other people's children. And a very sizable part of that group—the ones who don't care too much about other people's children, but care an awful lot about danger and their feeling of insecurity—think that the only reason these problems exist is because the country isn't certain enough and severe enough in its punishments."

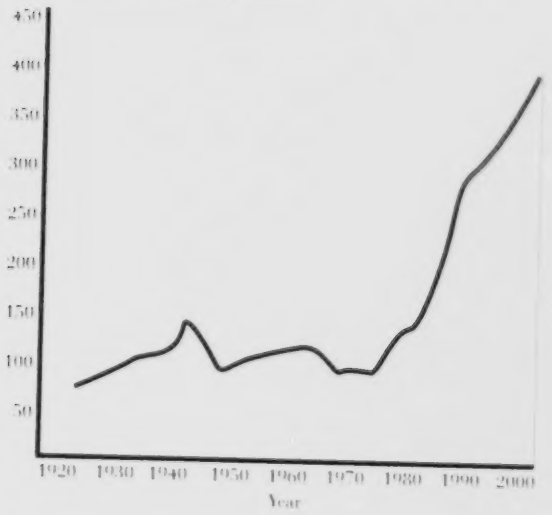
Acknowledging that reality, Heymann continued, "We're here today to address the issue of youth violence for that group of people—the people who are not so worried about children in general but are worried about their own sense of safety and security and the safety and security of their families. We're here to ask, 'What do we know about prevention programs that really promise to be cost effective as compared to the criminal justice system in reducing violence and reducing danger?'

"We are now spending billions of new federal dollars each year on prisons and police," Heymann pointed out. "The question we're here to address is, 'Can we honestly identify steps that can be taken to prevent youth violence that would be a better investment than this in providing the safety and sense of security so many Americans feel they lack?'

"If we can identify five or ten things that can be done that fit that description, they may improve the health, the employment, the hopes of the families of children who don't now enjoy those prospects," he noted, "but the programs will also legitimately reduce the violence and the sense of danger that is such a powerful motivator in the United States today."

Philip Heymann had issued the challenge. The first session provided the factual and analytical background for coming up with the solutions he hoped the conference would provide. Alfred Blumstein of Carnegie Mellon University was the first presenter. Much of his presentation was based on his paper on youth violence published in the fall of 1995. Blumstein started by referring to a graph of U.S. incarceration rates from 1925 through 1995 (fig. 1).

Fig. 1. **Incarceration Rate by Year**
(Prisoners per 100,000 population)

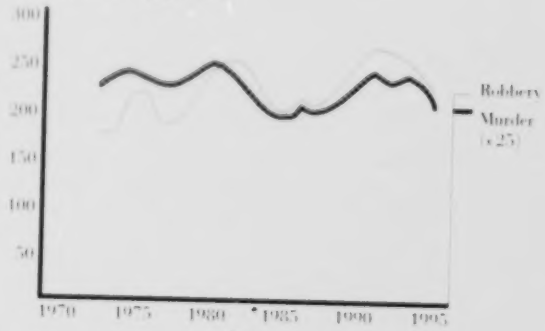


source: *Crime*. Edited by James Q. Wilson and Joan Petersilia. ICS Press, San Francisco, CA. 800-326-0263

He pointed out, "The 50 years from the mid '20s to the mid '70s really is an astonishingly stable period. The average rate of incarceration over that period was 110 people per 100,000, plus or minus 8 percent until the mid '70s, at which point we see the dramatic growth that resulted from the dominant strategy—incarceration—that the nation has pursued since then. This strategy is not only dominant in the sense that it has been America's primary strategy, it is also dominant in the sense that it has pretty much driven out all other strategies that might be appropriate."

Blumstein noted that polls consistently show that a majority of Americans believe that the rate of violent crime is increasing and that it is now the nation's single biggest problem. However, as a graph of murder (scaled up 25 times to provide comparison) and robbery rates from 1975 through 1995 (fig. 2) shows, the reality is otherwise.

Fig. 2. **UCR Murder and Robbery Rates**
(per 100,000 population)



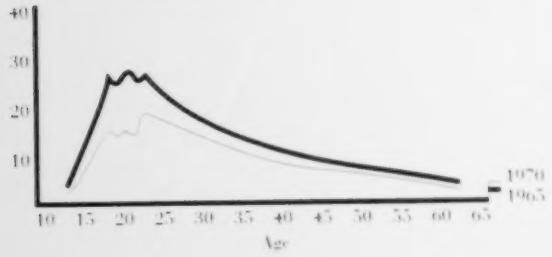
source: Alfred Blumstein, "Youth Violence, Guns, and the Illicit-Drug Industry," *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Northwestern University School of Law, Volume 86, Number 1, Fall 1995

Pointing out that the two rates track each other quite closely, he continued. "The second thing you note about the murder rate is that, while it has been oscillating, its trend is very flat—a fact that would be surprising to the great majority of people in America who think that violent crime is escalating out of hand."

"The third thing you notice is that in the last few years, since 1991, we have seen a general decline in homicide, with probably the largest decline in the last year. FBI reports that came out recently show about an 8-percent decline in reported homicide rates," Blumstein pointed out.

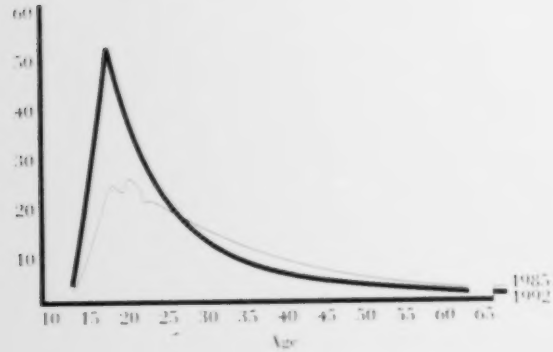
Noting that the age-specific murder arrest rates in 1965 and 1970 (fig. 3) form a fairly flat peak from about ages 18 until 24, when the rate starts to come down, he noted that this pattern pretty much prevailed for the 15 years from 1970 until 1985.

Fig. 3. **Age-Specific Murder Rates: 1985 and 1970**
(per 100,000 population)



SOURCE: Alfred Blumstein, "Youth Violence, Guns, and the Illicit-Drug Industry," *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Northwestern University School of Law, Volume 86, Number 1, Fall 1995.

Fig. 4. **Age-Specific Murder Rates: 1985 and 1992**
(per 100,000 population)

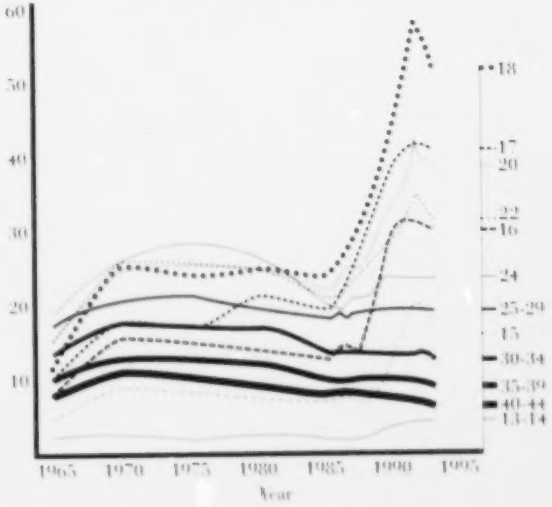


SOURCE: Alfred Blumstein, "Youth Violence, Guns, and the Illicit-Drug Industry," *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Northwestern University School of Law, Volume 86, Number 1, Fall 1995.

A comparison of the age-specific murder arrest rates in 1985 and 1992 (fig. 4) tell a very different tale. Said Blumstein, "The 1985 rate looks very much like the earlier ones, but in the 1992 rate we see a really astonishing shift that we have seen at no other time—an enormous growth at 18, bringing the adjoining ages up with them."

Blumstein homed in more closely, showing graphs of the time trend in age-specific murder arrest rates from 1965 to 1992 (fig. 5). "The striking observation here is the flatness of the trend—the rate for all the peak ages was about the same from 1970 through 1985," he pointed out. "Then, in 1985, we saw this doubling of the rate for 18-year-olds and

Fig. 5. **Trends in Age-Specific Murder Rates**
(per 100,000 population)



SOURCE: Alfred Blumstein, "Youth Violence, Guns, and the Illicit-Drug Industry," *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Northwestern University School of Law, Volume 86, Number 1, Fall 1995.

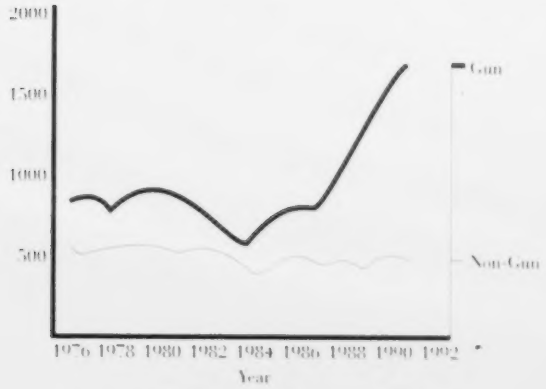
younger. There was no growth for the 24 year olds and older, and between 18 and 24, the amount of growth declined with age."

He continued, "I've estimated the 'excess' number of homicides beyond those associated with the previously flat rates at the eight ages from 15 through 22, over the seven years from 1986 to 1992. It's about 18,000 additional homicides; that's an annual rate of about 2,600 homicides, or about 12 percent of the total number of homicides in each year in that period. So this is not just a large shift in an otherwise small rate; it's a dramatic shift that contributes very

significantly to the growth in homicides that went on during that period."

Blumstein turned to the issue of guns. On a graph showing the number of gun and non-gun homicides for juveniles between the ages 10 and 17 from 1976 through 1991 (fig. 6), he noted, "The number of gun homicides and the number of non-gun homicides were in a rather constant ratio of 60 percent gun/40 percent non-gun until 1985. Then the ratio started up, to the point where the number of gun homicides doubled, while the number of non-gun homicides stayed about the same. There was also a comparable shift in suicides. Suicides with guns went up dramatically after '85, particularly for blacks, but there was no shift in non-gun suicides.

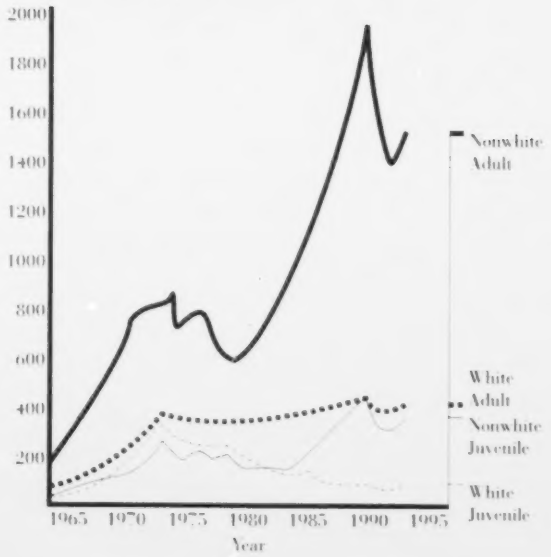
Fig. 6. **Number of Gun and Non-Gun Homicides**
(by Juvenile Offenders Ages 10-17)



source: Alfred Blumstein, "Youth Violence, Guns, and the Illicit-Drug Industry," *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Northwestern University School of Law, Volume 86, Number 1, Fall 1995

"Everyone also knows there's a drug involvement," he said, "so let's look at the drug arrest rate as an indication of the involvement of people in the drug industry (fig. 7). Back before '65 there was virtually no juvenile involvement with the justice system for drug offenses. The period of the '70s is particularly interesting, because that was one of those times and this was one of those offenses where the white arrest rate grew very rapidly, and even exceeded that of the non-whites—that inevitably brought about a response. To a very sizable degree, the nation backed off on enforcement of the marijuana laws, and we have seen since 1974 a fairly steady decline in arrests of white juveniles for drug offenses.

Fig. 7. **Drug Arrest Rates**
(per 100,000 population)



source: Alfred Blumstein, "Youth Violence, Guns, and the Illicit-Drug Industry," *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Northwestern University School of Law, Volume 86, Number 1, Fall 1995

"When you look at non-whites, their rate came down a bit during the decriminalization era and then stabilized fairly well through the early '80s, when the adult non-white rate was going up," Blumstein continued. "But starting in about '85—again that famous year of '85—we see a turnup that resulted in more than a doubling of the arrest rate for drug offenses of non-white juveniles.

"This, I think, is the key to the doubling of juvenile homicides," Blumstein posited. "You have a doubling of homicides with guns by kids, a doubling of homicides with guns, and a doubling of the non-white arrest rate for drugs, all starting in about 1985. That goes along with a growth in crack demand that began in the mid '80s, first in the largest cities, and then it started to spread rather rapidly elsewhere. Crack was a major marketing product development. Cocaine was a product that had formerly been restricted to people who had enough money and storage space to buy enough powdered cocaine so they only had to buy it once a month or every few months. Crack was a product that was available at

the price of $5 to $10 or so; it opened up a whole new market that couldn't afford powdered cocaine. Many of the members of that new market were buying crack a hit at a time, so there was an enormous growth in the number of transactions that were necessary.

"The drug industry, being entrepreneurial and creative, inevitably responded to the increase in demand that it had stimulated in the first place," he remarked. "It responded by recruiting kids. A lot of adults were in prison. You saw that curve go fairly far up on the incarceration rate (fig. 1)."

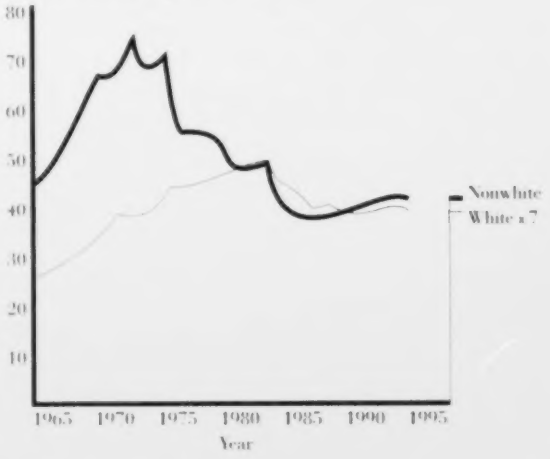
Blumstein noted, "Kids came fairly cheaply. They faced less in the way of penalties; mandatory minimum sentences were in place, but largely for adults. Kids seemed ready to take considerable risk; to a large degree, many of them had a sense of hopelessness about their making it in the legitimate economy, and selling crack was one route out of that bind.

"So those kids became the industry's recruits," he said. "And anyone in the drug industry, because they are carrying an illegal product, can't call the police if someone tries to steal from them. So what do they do? They carry guns; they organize into gangs for mutual protection. The result is a dynamic process that generates a considerable presence of guns in the hands of these kids in the market.

"Next comes a key step in the process," Blumstein continued. "One might consider attributing the growth in homicides simply to battles within these drug markets, but you just can't attribute enough of the homicides that occurred to the drug markets themselves, so you have to see another process at work. That process, I believe, is a diffusion process that starts with these inner-city kids in the drug market. It extends to their immediate neighbors and then extends outward to other communities. Kids are much more tightly networked than adults. Adults in those markets were clearly carrying guns, but we saw no growth in gun homicides among the adults. We know that teenage males are not the world's best dispute resolvers: They've always had fights, and they've always engaged in violence. But that violence had heretofore been predominantly with fists, with wrestling, possibly with knives, but the lethality of those violent encounters escalates dramatically when guns are involved. So the consequences of these teen-age disputes became horrendous as a result.

"We see these age differences in a graph showing the murder arrest rates of adult whites, scaled up seven times to provide comparison, and non-whites between 1965 and 1992 (fig. 8)," Blumstein noted. "For adults, at least through the '80s and early '90s, there is, if anything, a slight downward trend, both for whites and for non-whites, and no racial differences in those trends.

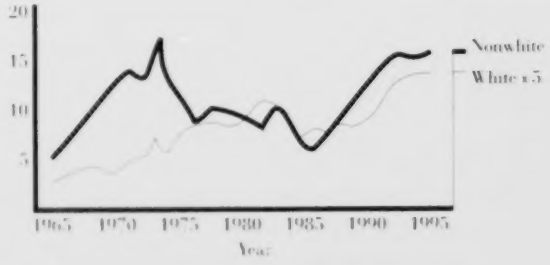
Fig. 8. **Murder Arrest Rates - Adults**
(per 100,000 population)



SOURCE: Alfred Blumstein, "Youth Violence, Guns, and the Illicit Drug Industry," *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Northwestern University School of Law, Volume 86, Number 1, Fall 1995

"The juvenile story is, as usual, quite different (fig. 9)," Blumstein pointed out. "Again, in the early '80s, if anything, there is a downward trend. For the non-whites—predomi-

Fig. 9. **Murder Arrest Rates - Juveniles**
(per 100,000 population)



SOURCE: Alfred Blumstein, "Youth Violence, Guns, and the Illicit Drug Industry," *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Northwestern University School of Law, Volume 86, Number 1, Fall 1995

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nantly African Americans—an upward trend begins in 1985, and there is a growth of 120 percent in the homicide arrest rate for non-white juveniles by 1992."

He continued, "If you look at the rate for white juveniles, the first thing you notice is that it is also going up in recent years. The second thing is that if you look carefully, the rate didn't start up until 1988. To the extent that the diffusion process was working, it took three years to move from the non-white core group out to the white kids, who also got guns to defend themselves against the other kids who were carrying them. The more guns out there, the greater the incentive for each kid to make sure he gets his own.

"What does that say we should be doing?" Blumstein asked. "The first thing is, we should accept the deadly seriousness of the presence of guns in the hands of kids. This suggests that it's very important that we do things that will get guns out of their hands. There are a variety of approaches that have been pursued. New York City has used a very aggressive stop-and-frisk policy on the street. Charleston, South Carolina, has offered a $100 bounty to anybody who reports an illegal gun that the police confiscate. Policies like these not only confiscate guns, but perhaps more important, they inhibit the brandishing of guns, which is an important part of the stimulus for their diffusion. The fewer guns out there and the less awareness there is of guns out there, the less aggressive is the spread of guns.

"The second issue is the gun market," he said. "Though we've been obsessed with the illegal drug market, we have done very little about the illegal gun market. Guns are easier to track down than drugs because they carry serial numbers. It's an important federal role to collect this information and use it to crack down on the illicit gun markets."

Blumstein went on, "The third approach that seems to make sense is to do a variety of things to shrink the drug markets. This puts much more emphasis on treatment and prevention, as well as seeking innovations in taking addicts out of the drug market through medical or other approaches.

"And the fourth issue is these kids who became easy marks for the drug industry, with all the consequences that flow from that," he said. "That's where prevention must come in as an important aspect of our crime-control response policy."

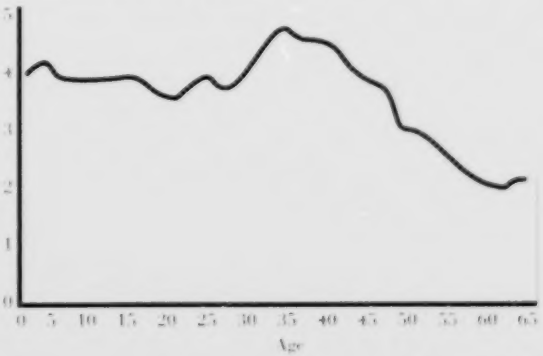
Blumstein noted, "Let me just say that I believe that an important factor in the decline in the murder rate for older ages—though by no means the only one—is the fact that in the last ten years we have doubled the prison population. When you double the prison population you've got to have some incapacitative effects. We have had about a 20-percent reduction in the homicide rate of people 30 and above. That's not a very efficient way to address the problem, and it may also have other deleterious consequences, but that's clearly the approach that we've taken."

He added, "You don't get that effect at younger ages. By age 30, you've identified people who through a history of criminal acts have indicated a continuing propensity to commit crimes; for them, incarceration should have an incapacitative effect. At earlier ages you can't possibly know who is going to continue in a criminal pattern and who is going to desist—and they come in faster than you can possibly lock them up anyway. So, that says that for the younger ages we've got to develop a mixed strategy that admittedly will include incarceration, but, given the inherent inefficiency of incarceration at the younger ages, it's got to involve much more effort at prevention through a mixture of early intervention, starting at the prenatal period and continuing through the child's developmental phases."

In conclusion, Blumstein said, "Let me put this in the context of the age distribution of the U.S. population (figs. 10 and 11). These show you the number of millions of people at each age. For example, the baby boomers are in their late 40s in 1996. And there's a new wave of adolescents coming in. We know how many people are going to be 18 years old for

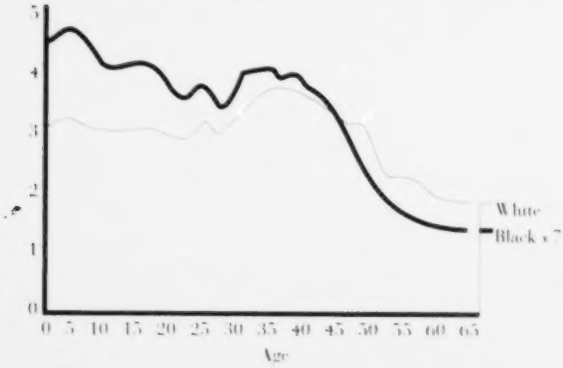
Fig. 10. **Age of U.S. Population in 1996**

(Population at each age in millions)



Source: Alfred Blumstein, "Youth Violence, Guns, and the Illicit-Drug Industry," *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Northwestern University School of Law, Volume 86, Number 1, Fall 1995

Fig. 11. **Age of U.S. Population in 1996 by Race**
(Population at each age in millions)



Source: Alfred Blumstein, "Youth Violence, Guns, and the Illicit-Drug Industry," *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Northwestern University School of Law, Volume 86, Number 1, Fall 1995

the next 15 years at least, and we see that larger numbers are going to be coming in over the next decade or so. Whatever one's feelings of possibility or desperation about dealing with kids in their late teens, I think it's utterly unreasonable to give up hope of effective intervention.

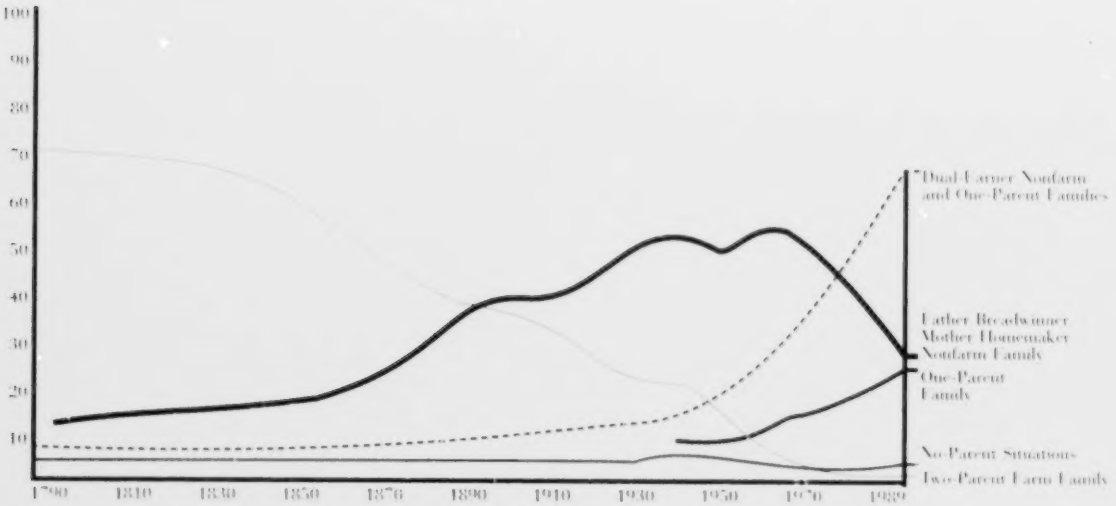
"As we look to the future, some argue that there will be a bloodbath," he noted. "We've heard the rhetoric about super predators, and though I don't believe that there are necessarily super predators at all, I think there are problems. But there's an awful lot that can and should be done, particularly in prevention for the earlier ages."

Changes in the Family

As the century draws to a close, worries about the family and "family values" preoccupy many Americans. Suspicions abound that changes in family structure may be the real cause of increasing violence across the land. Donald Hernandez, study director with the National Academy of Sciences' board on children, youth, and families while on leave from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, where he is chief of the Marriage and Family Statistics branch, has studied the history of the American family closely. He summarized his research for conference attendees.

Hernandez began by saying, "Two revolutionary changes have occurred in children's lives since World War II: The rise in mothers' labor force participation and the rise of mother-only families with no father in the home. More recently childhood poverty has increased enormously. These

Fig. 12. **Children Ages 0-17 in Various Family Situations, 1790-1989**
(by percent)



Source: Donald J. Hernandez, *America's Children: Resources from Family, Government, and the Economy*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation (1993)

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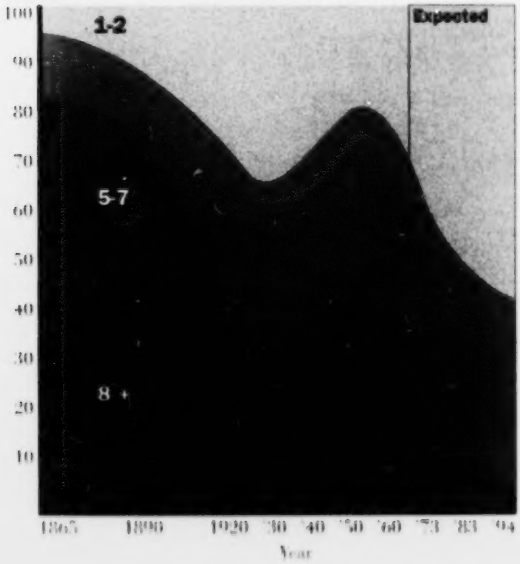
changes did not come out of nothing; they are a natural outgrowth of ongoing social and economic transformations that began about 150 years ago.

"For hundreds if not thousands of years, the farm and the two-parent farm family were the primary form of economic production and family organization in western countries," he noted. "However, once the decline in the two-parent farm family began, it was extremely rapid (fig. 12). In 1830, nearly 70 percent of children lived in two-parent farm families; this had dropped to less than 30 percent by 1930.

"This produced a revolutionary transformation in the nature of childhood," Hernandez declared. "Two-parent farm families where family members worked side-by-side to sustain themselves in small farming communities were replaced by two-parent families that lived in urban areas or cities, where fathers left the home for much of the day to work at a job and earn the income required to support the family and mothers remained in the home to care for the children and perform household functions.

Fig. 13. **Actual and Expected Number of Siblings for Adolescents Born 1865-1994** (by percent)



Source: Donald J. Hernandez, *America's Children: Resources from Family, Government, and the Economy*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation (1993)

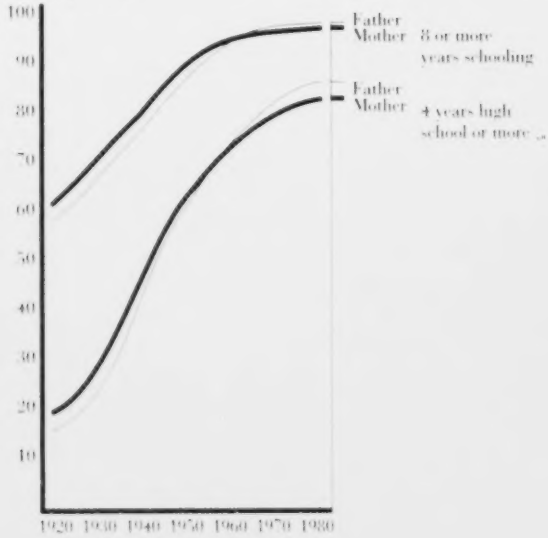
"This change in the family economy was accompanied by an equally revolutionary drop in family size (fig. 13)," Hernandez pointed out. "In the short 65 years from 1865 to 1930, the median number of siblings in the families of adolescents plummeted from 7.3 to only 2.6 siblings per family."

He continued, "A third revolutionary change in children's lives occurred during the same era. School enrollment and educational attainments of children increased enormously. Between 1870 and 1940, school enrollment rates jumped sharply, from only 50 percent for children ages 5 to 19, to 95 percent for children ages 7 to 13, and 79 percent for children ages 14 to 17. Meanwhile, among enrolled students, the number of days spent in school doubled, jumping from 21 percent to 42 percent of the total days in the year. By 1940, school days accounted for about two-thirds as many days as in a full-time adult work-year.

"Since the children of today are the parents of tomorrow, this led, in due course, to enormous increases in parents' education (fig. 14)," Hernandez noted.

He asked, "Why did these revolutions occur in fathers'

Fig. 14. **Proportion of Children Whose Parents Have Specified Educational Attainment (Born 1920s to 1980s)** (by percent)



Source: Donald J. Hernandez, *America's Children: Resources from Family, Government, and the Economy*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation (1993)

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work, family size, and schooling between the mid- to late-1800s and 1930 or 1940? A single underlying force can be seen as motivating parents to pursue all three courses of action—namely, their desire to maintain or improve the relative social and economic status of themselves and their children—or to keep from losing too much ground compared to others who were taking advantage of emerging economic opportunities."

Hernandez explained: "During the first century of the Industrial Revolution, there were three major ways for parents to improve their relative social and economic status, compared to others.

"First, they could move off the farm so that fathers could take comparatively well-paid jobs in the expanding industrial economy.

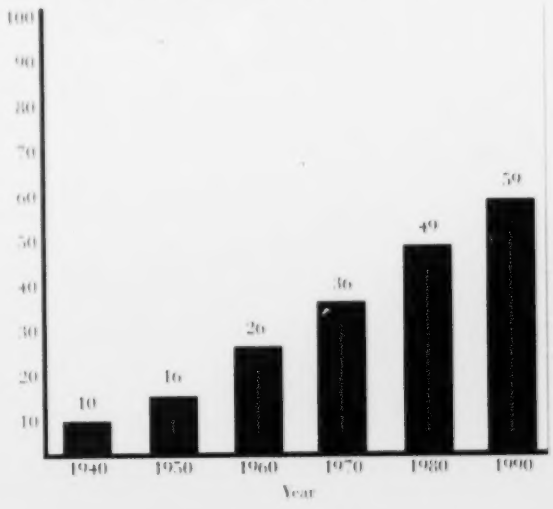
"Second, they could limit their family size to a comparatively small number of children so that available income could be spread less thinly. Obviously, at any given income level, parents with fewer children have more money to spend on themselves and on each child than do parents with a larger number of children.

"Third, they could obtain more education, since increasing amounts of education became increasingly necessary to obtain jobs that provided higher incomes and greater prestige," he concluded.

"After 1930, two additional revolutions in children's families were initiated," Hernandez continued. "First was the explosion in mothers' employment outside the home. Figure 15 shows that only 10 percent of children in 1940 lived with a mother who was in the labor force. This increased by 6 percentage points during the 1940s, and then by at least 10 percentage points during each of the next four decades. By 1990, nearly 60 percent of children had a working mother, a six-fold increase in fifty years. As of 1995, about 68 percent of children lived with working mothers.

"Just as children in an earlier era experienced a massive movement by fathers out of the family home to work at jobs in the urban-industrial economy, children since the Great Depression have experienced a massive movement by mothers into the paid labor force," he pointed out. "The revolution in mothers' work is occurring twice as fast as it did for fathers, however. The decline in the numbers of children in two-parent farm families from 60 percent to 10 percent required the 100 years from 1860 to 1960. But the corresponding rise in numbers of working mothers, from 10 percent to 60 percent, required only half as long— the 50 years from 1940 to 1990.

Fig. 15. **Proportion of Children with Mothers in the Labor Force: 1940-1990** (by percent)



—SOURCE: Donald J. Hernandez, *America's Children: Resources from Family, Government, and the Economy*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1993.

"What caused this revolutionary increase in mothers' labor force participation?" he asked. "Much of the answer lies in the historic changes that have occurred in the family and the economy.

"As I've already suggested, between the early days of the Industrial Revolution and about 1940, many parents had three major avenues for maintaining or improving their relative economic standing compared with other families," he said.

"By 1940, however, only 23 percent of Americans lived on farms, and 70 percent of parents had only 1 or 2 dependent children in the home," Hernandez pointed out. "Consequently, for many parents, the first two historical avenues for maintaining or improving their relative economic standing had run their course. In addition, since most persons achieve their ultimate educational attainments by age 25, obtaining additional schooling after age 25, the period when people are most likely to be involved in parenting, is often difficult or impractical."

He continued, "With these avenues to improving their families' relative economic status effectively closed for a

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large majority of parents after age 25, a fourth major avenue to improving family income emerged between 1940 and 1960—paid work by wives and mothers."

"Mothers were becoming increasingly available and increasingly well qualified for work outside the home," Hernandez pointed out. "By 1940, the revolutionary increase in school enrollment had effectively released mothers from personal child-care responsibilities for a time period equivalent to about two-thirds of the hours in an adult work-day and for about two-thirds of a full-time adult work-year, except for the few years before children entered elementary school. In addition, many women were highly educated, since the educational attainments of women and mothers had increased along with those of men. By 1940, young women were more likely than young men to graduate from high school, and they were about two-thirds as likely to graduate from college.

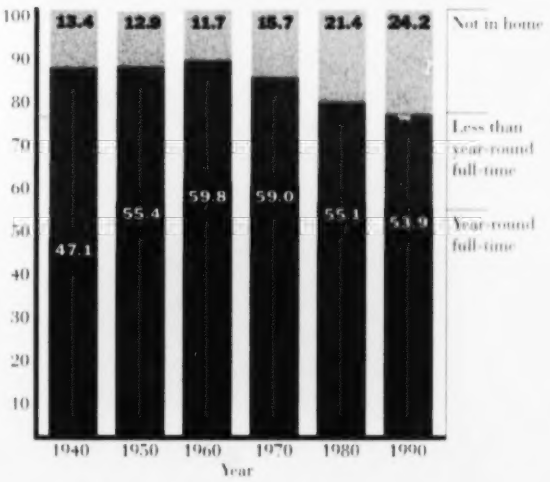
"Also, with the historic rise in divorce, paid work became increasingly attractive to mothers as a hedge against the possible economic disaster of losing most or all of their husbands' incomes through divorce," he said.

"Immediate economic insecurity and need associated with fathers' lack of access to full-time employment was another factor that made mothers' work attractive," Hernandez noted. "Figure 16 shows that almost 40 percent of children in the Great Depression year of 1940 lived with fathers who did not work full-time year-round. While this proportion declined after the Depression, it has continued at high levels. In 1950 and 1960, 29 to 32 percent of children lived with fathers who did not work full-time year-round."

He went on, "Even with the subsequent expansion in mother-only families with no father present in the home, the proportion of all children living with fathers who did not work full-time year-round was 22 to 25 percent during the past two decades. Throughout the era since the Great Depression, at least one-fifth of children have lived with fathers who, during any given year, experienced part-time work or joblessness. This has been a powerful incentive for many mothers to enter the paid labor market.

"The importance of sheer economic necessity in fostering the growth in mothers' employment is reflected in the following fact," Hernandez declared. "As of 1988, 1 out of every 8 children in two-parent families either would have been living in poverty if their mothers had not worked, or remained in poverty despite their mothers' paid employment.

Fig. 16. **Children by Father's Amount of Work and Presence in the Home: 1940-1990** (by percent)



Source: Donald J. Hernandez, *America's Children: Resources from Family, Government, and the Economy*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation (1993).

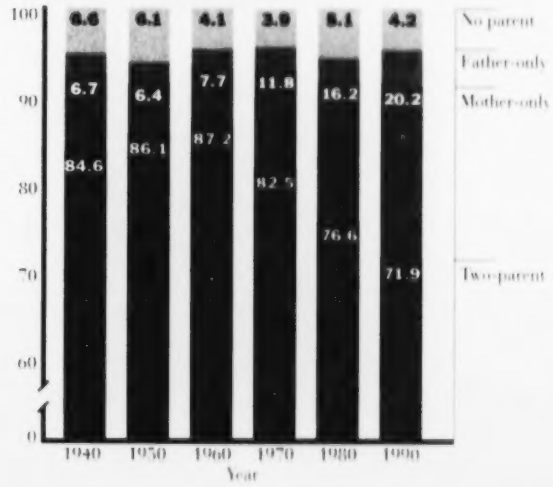
"Of course, the desire to maintain or improve their families' relative social and economic status is not the only reason that wives and mothers enter the labor force," he noted. "Additional reasons to work include the personal, non-financial rewards of the job itself, the opportunity to be productively involved with other adults, and the satisfaction associated with having a career in a high-prestige occupation. Nonetheless, for many mothers economic insecurity and need provide a powerful incentive to work for pay."

Hernandez continued, "Twenty years after the beginning of this revolutionary increase in mothers' work, another revolution in family life began, namely, the unprecedented increase in mother-only families, where the father was not present in the home.

"Figure 17 shows that between 1940 and 1960, only 6 to 8 percent of children lived in mother-only families," he pointed out. "But this increased to 20 percent in 1990 and to 24 percent in 1995.

"By 1990, children in mother-only families were about twice as likely to live with a divorced or separated mother as with a never-married mother," Hernandez noted. "Hence separation and divorce account for about two-thirds of chil-

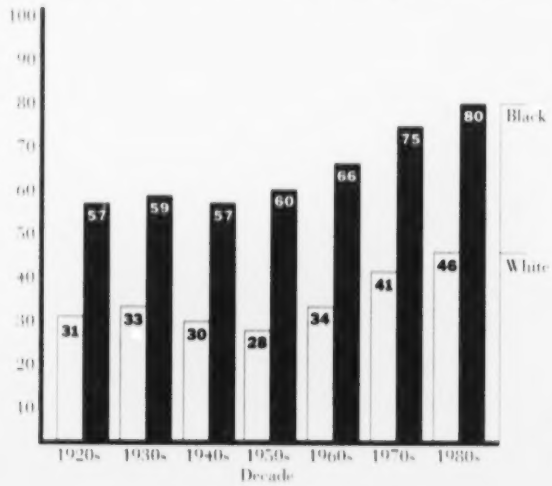
Fig. 17. **Living Arrangements of Children Ages 0-17: 1940-1990** (by percent)



SOURCE: Donald J. Hernandez, *America's Children: Resources from Family, Government, and the Economy*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation (1993).

Fig. 18. **White and Black Children Ever Living with Fewer than Two Parents by Age 17: 1920s-1980s** (by percent)

NOTE: 1970s and 1980s projected



SOURCE: Donald J. Hernandez, *America's Children: Resources from Family, Government, and the Economy*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation (1993).

dren living in mother-only families, while out-of-wedlock childbearing accounts for about one-third of children living in mother-only families."

He added, "Of course the total proportion of children not living with two parents is substantially higher, because some children live with their father only, or with neither parent in the home.

"In addition, some one-parent families become two-parent families when the parents marry or remarry, only to be replaced by other one-parent families that are newly formed through widowhood, divorce, or out-of-wedlock childbearing," Hernandez pointed out. "As shown in figure 18, the total proportion of children who ever live with fewer than two parents sometime during their childhoods has been enormously higher, both historically and today, both for whites and for blacks.

"Among white children born between 1920 and 1960, for example, a fairly constant but large minority of 28 to 34 percent spent part of their childhoods living with fewer than two parents," he noted. "In addition, it appears that this proportion was about constant for white children born between the late 1800s and 1920, since the decline in parental mortality was counter-balanced by the increase in divorce during the 100 years spanning the mid-1860s to the mid-1960s. Projections indicate, however, that the proportion ever spending time in a family with fewer than two parents will increase to about 50 percent for white children born since 1980."

Hernandez went on, "Among black children born between 1920 and 1950, an enormous 55 to 60 percent spent part of their childhood living with fewer than two parents, and, again, additional evidence indicates that this proportion had been roughly the same for black children born between the late 1800s and 1920. Projections indicate that this will rise to about 80 percent for black children born since 1980."

"Why did a revolutionary increase in mother-only families occur, beginning around 1960?" Hernandez asked. "Much of the historic rise in divorce appears to have grown out of transformations in the family economy that I've already discussed.

"The economic interdependence of husbands and wives was sharply reduced when fathers obtained jobs in the nonfarm economy," he explained. "On preindustrial farms, fathers and mothers, as well as older children, had to work together to sustain the family, but with a nonfarm job, the father could, if he wanted to, leave the family home and

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take his income with him. At the same time, in moving to urban areas, husbands and wives left behind the rural and small-town social controls that once censured divorce.

"The result was a remarkably steady eight-fold increase in divorce rates between the early 1860s and the early 1960s, an increase that effectively counter-balanced declining mortality as a source of marital dissolution," Hernandez summed up.

"More recently, with the revolutionary post-1940 increase in mothers' labor force participation, the economic interdependence of husbands and wives was weakened further," he said. "A mother with a nonfarm job could, if she desired, depend on her work alone for her income. She could separate or divorce the father and take her income with her.

"Economic insecurity and need also appear to have contributed substantially to the rise in separation and divorce, at least since 1970," Hernandez added. "Glen Elder and his colleagues have shown that instability in husbands' work, drops in family income, and a low ratio of family income to family needs lead to increased hostility between husbands and wives, to decreased marital quality, and to increased risk of divorce. In fact, each of the three economic recessions between 1970 and 1982 led to a substantially larger increase in mother-only families for children than did the preceding nonrecessionary periods.

"I have developed a rough estimate of the size of this recession effect for children by assuming that without each recession the average annual increase in mother-only families would have been the same during recession years as during the immediately preceding nonrecessionary period," he said. "The results suggest that recessions account for about 30 percent of the overall increase in mother-only families between 1968 and 1988, and for about 50 percent of the increase in mother-only families with separated or divorced mothers."

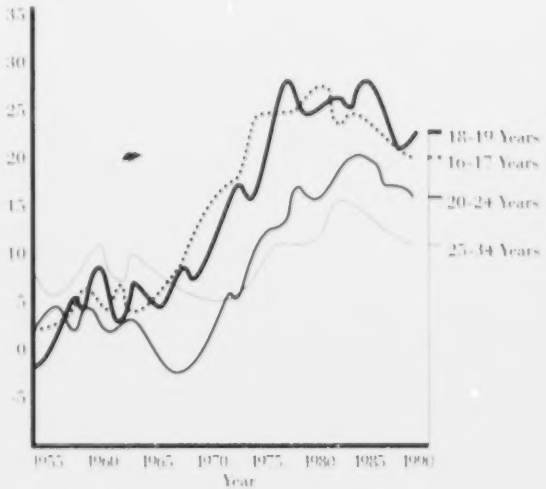
He continued, "Since 70 percent of the increase in mother-only families for white children between 1960 and 1988 can be accounted for by the rise in separation and divorce, these economic explanations may account for much of the rise in mother-only families for white children during these decades.

"Between 1940 and 1960, black children experienced much larger increases than white children in the proportion living in a mother-only family with a divorced or separated mother," Hernandez noted. "But, especially since 1970, black children also have experienced extremely large increases in the proportion of mother-only families with a never-married mother."

He added, "Without going into great detail here, I argue in my book [*America's Children: Resources from Family, Government, and the Economy*, Russell Sage Foundation 1993] that the factors leading to increased separation and divorce among whites were also important for blacks, but that the startling drop in the proportion of blacks living on farms between 1940 and 1960—a period of only 20 years—from 44 percent in 1940 to only 11 percent in 1960, and the extraordinary economic pressures faced by black families may account for much of the much higher proportion of black children than white children who live in mother-only families.

"In addition, drawing upon the work of William Julius Wilson, as shown in figure 19, I've calculated the extent to which joblessness of young black men between the ages of 16 and 24 has exceeded joblessness among young white men," Hernandez said. "This difference expanded from being almost negligible in 1955, to 15 to 25 percentage points by the late 1970s and 1980s. Faced with this large and rapid

Fig. 19. **Percentage Points by Which White Male Employment Exceeds Black Male Employment: 1955-1988**



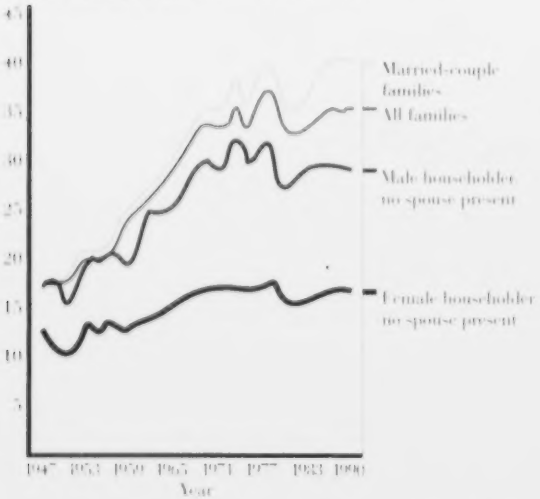
Source: Donald J. Hernandez, *America's Children: Resources from Family, Government, and the Economy*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation (1993).

reduction in the availability of black men during the main family-building ages who might provide significant support to a family, many young black women appear to have decided to forego a temporary and unrewarding marriage—in fact, a marriage in which a jobless or poorly-paid husband might act as a financial drain.

"The size of this increased racial gap in joblessness is at least two-thirds the size of the 23 percentage point increase between 1960 and 1988 in the difference between whites and blacks in the proportion of children living in mother-only families with never-married mothers," he pointed out. "Consequently, the increasing racial gap in joblessness may well be the major cause of the increasing gap between the numbers of white children and of black children living in mother-only families with never-married mothers."

Turning to the issue of children's poverty, Hernandez said, "As the historic revolutions in fathers' work, family size, and men's educational attainments drew to a close in the early 1970s, and as the post-1940 revolutions in mothers' work and mother-only families proceeded, what changes occurred in income and poverty among children?

Fig. 20. **Median Family Income, by Type of Family: 1947 to 1990** (in 1990 dollars. ... 1000)



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, P23-181, *Households, Families, and Children: A 30-Year Perspective*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office (1992).

"Figure 20 shows that median family income more than doubled during the 26 years from 1947 to 1973," he pointed out. "During the next 17 years, however—between 1973 and 1990—median family income barely increased—by a tiny 6 percent—despite the enormous jump in mothers' labor force participation."

In addition, he noted, "Because of the tremendous increase in real income and real standard of living between 1940 and 1973, social perceptions about what income levels were 'normal' and 'adequate' changed substantially. The relative nature of judgments about what income level is adequate or inadequate has been noted for more than 200 years. In *Wealth of Nations*, for example, Adam Smith emphasized that poverty must be defined in comparison to contemporary standards of living. He defined economic hardship as the experience of being unable to consume commodities that 'the custom of the country renders it indecent for creditable people, even of the lowest order, to be without.'"

"Based on this insight and on Lee Rainwater's research as well as on additional literature, I've developed a measure of relative poverty, relying on poverty thresholds set at 50 percent of median family income in specific years and adjusted for family size," he said.

"Figure 21 shows that the relative poverty rate among children dropped sharply after the Great Depression, from 38 to 27 percent between 1939 and 1949," Hernandez explained. "The 1950s and 1960s brought an additional decline of 4 percentage points, but by 1988, the relative poverty rate for children had returned to the comparatively high level of 27 percent that children had experienced almost 40 years earlier, in 1949. This had increased further, to 28 percent, in 1993.

"What changes are responsible for this increase in childhood poverty?" he asked. "One important and sometimes overlooked change has been the substantial decline in the incomes of working men, especially those in the prime ages for fathering and rearing children. The number of men who have 'low earnings,' that is, annual earnings less than the official poverty level for a four-person family, has increased substantially since the early 1970s. Figure 22 shows there has been an especially striking deterioration since 1979 in the earnings of men who are year-round, full-time workers and who are in the main ages when children are in the home."

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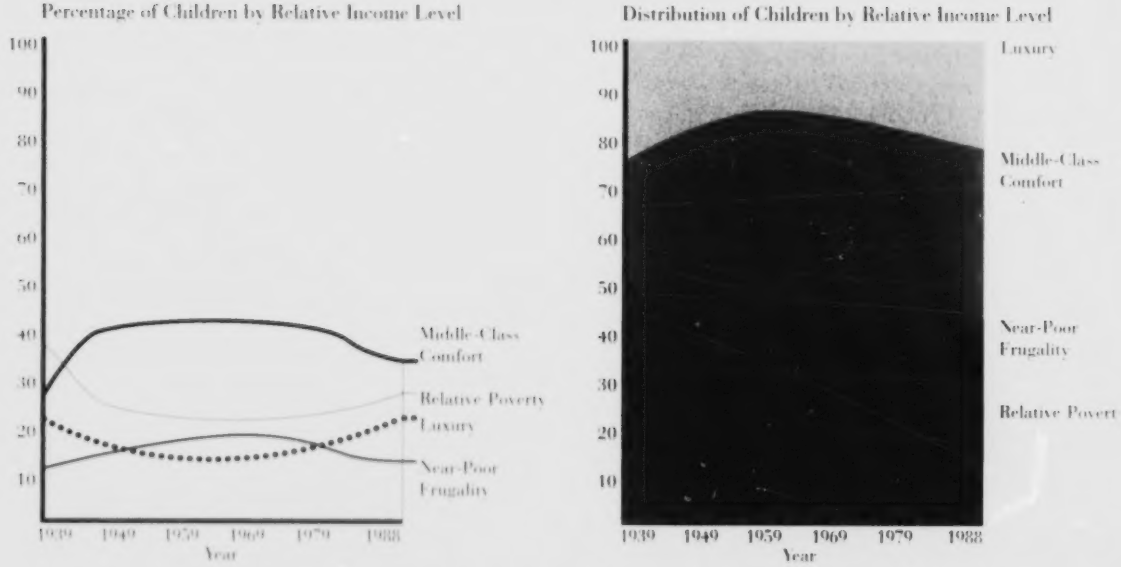
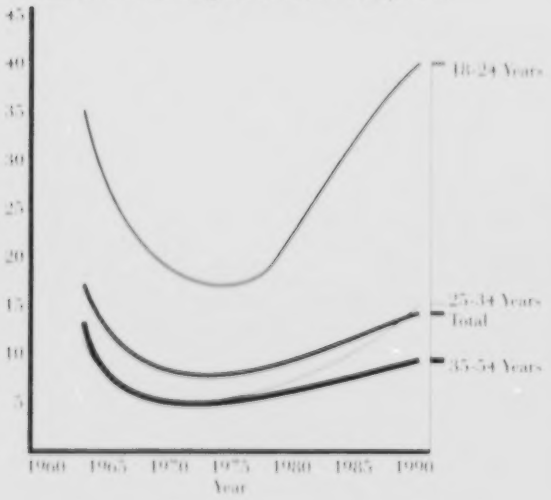
Fig. 21. **Children by Relative Income Levels: 1939-1988**



source: Donald J. Hernandez, *America's Children: Resources from Family, Government, and the Economy*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation (1993)

Fig. 22. **Year-round Full-time Male Workers with Low Annual Earnings: 1964–1990** (by percent)



source: John McNeil, *Workers with Low Earnings: 1964 to 1990*, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P60-178, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office (1992)

Hernandez pointed out, "Among year-round, full-time workers, the proportion of men between the ages of 18 and 24 with low earnings dropped from 35 to 17 percent between 1964 and 1974, but then jumped to 40 percent by 1990. The proportion of men 25 to 34 with low earnings dropped from 12 percent to only 5 percent in the same period, but then jumped to 15 percent; and the proportion of men 35 to 54 with low earnings dropped from 13 to 5 percent and then jumped to 9 percent.

"The trends were similar for white and black males with year-round full-time work, but the proportion with low earnings was much higher for blacks than for whites," he continued. "For white, male, year-round, full-time workers, the proportion with low earnings dropped from 15 to 7 percent between 1964 and 1974, then jumped to 13 percent by 1990. Among black, male, year-round, full-time workers, the proportion with low earnings dropped from a very high 38 percent to 14 percent between 1964 and 1974, but then jumped to 22 percent by 1990. Among Hispanic-origin, male, year-round, full-time workers, the proportion with low earnings also jumped between 1974 and 1990, from 12 percent to 28 percent.

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"In light of the steep declines during the late 1960s in the proportion of working men and husbands who did not earn enough income to lift a family of four out of official poverty, and in light of the steep increases since 1974, but especially since 1979, in the proportion of working men and husbands who did not earn enough income to lift a family of four out of official poverty, it is not surprising that trends in both relative and official poverty rates have followed a similar pattern during the past quarter-century—that is, that children have experienced large increases in relative and official poverty since 1969, but especially since 1979," he noted.

"Of course, the amount of income available to children from their fathers is substantially less for children living in mother-only families than for children living with both parents," Hernandez pointed out. "But the best available estimates indicate that while about one-third of the increase in child poverty during the 1980s can be accounted for by the rise in mother-only families, about two-thirds of the increase in poverty is unrelated to the rise in mother-only families and is directly accounted for by declining income.

"In other words, aside from the rise in mother-only families, childhood poverty rates and trends have been affected directly by historic trends in the proportion of children living with fathers who work full-time but have low incomes, and in the proportion of children living with fathers who experience part-time work or joblessness in any given year," he declared. "Both of these features of fathers' work also, however, have important indirect effects on childhood poverty because of their influence on divorce and out-of-wedlock childbearing—that is, because of their role in fostering the rise in mother-only families and because of their influence on mothers' labor force participation. Low income and instability in fathers' employment influence childhood poverty not only directly, by influencing the amount of income co-resident fathers bring home, but also because of their contribution to the historic rise in mother-only families."

Hernandez added, "The importance of low incomes among absent fathers can be seen in 1995 estimates by Elaine Sorenson that indicate that even with a perfect child support system, access to absent fathers' income would have reduced the number of children officially classified as poor in 1989 by 1 million or fewer—that is, by less than 10 percent. In other words, the official poverty rate for all children in 1989 would have been reduced by 1 to 2 percentage points, or from 19.6 percent to about 18 percent. This suggests that with a perfect child support system in 1995, the official poverty rate for children might have been reduced from about 22 percent to about 20 percent.

"In sum, recent revolutionary increases in mothers' labor force participation and in mother-only families resulted from earlier historical changes in the family economy, which occurred because of the desire of parents' to maintain or improve the relative economic standing of themselves and their families," he pointed out. "The more recent changes also occurred because parents were seeking to improve their families' economic situation or because of economic insecurity experienced by many parents because of joblessness, erratic employment opportunities, and declining wages.

"Turning to poverty," Hernandez continued, "fifty years ago, even thirty years ago, it was probably the case that childhood poverty was viewed as resulting mainly from fathers' unemployment, instability in employment, lack of full-time employment, and low earnings. Today, poverty is often seen as resulting from the rise of mother-only families.

"While the rise of mother-only families is without doubt increasingly important as a proximate cause of childhood poverty, the historical analysis that I've presented strongly suggests that employment insecurity and low earnings for fathers continue to be a prime factor determining the levels and trends in childhood poverty, both because of the direct effect on family income and because of the indirect effect in contributing to the rise in mother-only families," he said. "This analysis also strongly suggests that mothers' employment has become increasingly important in determining childhood poverty levels and trends, both directly, because of the income mothers bring into the home and indirectly, by facilitating separation and divorce."

Hernandez concluded, "In short, today, as was the case fifty years ago, childhood poverty trends are not occurring mainly in response to trends in mother-only families that are independent of economic factors; instead childhood poverty trends are occurring mainly in response to the economic and employment experiences of fathers and mothers—just as they always have."

The Functions of Adolescent Violence

Jeffrey Fagan, director of Columbia University's Center for Violence Research and Prevention, has spent 20 years study-

ing the context of violence—where and why it occurs, and what motivates individuals to violent acts. He filled conferees in on what he has learned.

He began by saying, "I've tried to stay very close to what I've come to understand as the dynamic nature of crime and violence. Violent behaviors are often ongoing interactions between individuals; they are linked events across time and space and within people.

"About 10 years ago, I heard a story from a terrific gang researcher in Southern California," Fagan recalled. "He told me how every time this one gang would get ready for a gang bang because somebody had insulted somebody in the gang or there was a territorial incursion or something, they would go back to their place, and they would drink a lot of tequila and other kinds of alcohol. They would smoke marijuana cigarettes dipped in PCP. They would snort PCP and a little bit of methamphetamine, and they would get pretty crazy. Acts of violence, over-the-top acts of craziness, were highly valued as determining one's status in the gang.

"So these preparations helped them for the fight that was to come," he said. "After the fight they would go back and reconstruct the event and celebrate it—they would do what we do after we come through some adrenaline-producing experience. They would sit back and drink tequila and other kinds of alcohol, and they'd smoke marijuana, and they'd dip their joints in PCP—the same things they'd done before the fight—these drugs were the perfect social lubricant. Doing this would make the gang members feel great. It would intensify the emotions of the experience and bring them closer.

"This was a fairly simple lesson about context and intentionality really being everything with respect to the idea of violence," Fagan said. "There are lots and lots of other examples of this—if you look closely into the dynamics of violent events within families you even get hints of this kind of thing."

He continued, "This raises three questions: First, is violence purposeful behavior, and if so, what are its purposes? Second, how do individual propensities interact with context to motivate and produce violent events? And third, what are the contextual factors that determine how a potentially violent event turns out—whether it turns out with or without injury, the degree of injury, the aftermath that may lead to yet another violent event or a continuation of the same event?

"To address these questions, in our paper on the functions of adolescent violence we applied perspectives from a variety of literatures to help gain a better understanding of the natural history of violent events," Fagan said.

"The first perspective relates to the intentionality of violent events: how expectations when you approach a situation shape your motivation to be violent.

"The second perspective is that of situated transactions. What we mean here is the confluence of motivations and perceptions and circumstances—technology, social controls, even when someone has been drinking. This also has to do with the different meanings of violent events and the rules of the groups in the situations where violent events occur.

"The third perspective is that of the transactional nature of violence, the fact that it does have a natural history, that there is a rule-oriented and almost a normative structure to events. These are events that have a beginning, a middle, an end—though maybe the end doesn't happen right away; the event might have several endings before it actually reaches a final conclusion.

"Finally, we talked about the functionality of violence, how violence has identifiable aims, how it's a goal-oriented behavior. How it has heavy doses of rationality—even in seemingly senseless acts of violence we can understand that there is some larger goal."

He went on, "To address the developmental meaning of violence in adolescence, we began by looking at the types and the contexts of adolescent violence. We asked why context is important for adolescents, and we came up with two answers. One is recurring social interactions. Adolescence is a time when people are in daily contact in a relatively closed social world with lots of bystanders who have vested interests. These bystanders, we find, often function as a Greek chorus, urging people on, provoking people to step up the violence in a very strange and unfortunate way. In some cases they act like so many Rosencrantzs and Guildensterns, trading in gossip and secrets, planting false information, and helping to heat up disputes that the two disputants might have thought had been over for quite a long time.

"The second thing about adolescence that we thought was noteworthy was the developmental status of adolescents and children," Fagan said. "There are very limited avenues to successful social roles. Again, in this proscribed social world,

it's not too easy to recover once your reputation is damaged.

"In the paper we go on to give four examples," he said. "The first is early childhood play, rough-and-tumble play in particular, which is very much of a practice for later adult fighting. This kind of play is very important to status formation and the accrual of status during childhood—during the years from 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, up to early adolescence. At age 12 or so, some of the play continues, some of it desists. For the individuals for whom it continues, it transforms—fighting becomes much more serious. Fighting changes both in its severity and its meaning with respect to identity formation.

"The second example is the context of groups and gangs," Fagan continued. "These are marginalized groups, often in marginalized neighborhoods. There are networks within and across gangs that are very important. Gangs are bound up with geographical, spatial issues. But perhaps most important, gangs are organizations that facilitate violence. Other researchers have shown that young kids in their early adolescence often have very low rates of violence before entering gangs. During the period of time when they're in gangs, their rates of violence escalate quite sharply and remain high; when they leave the gang, the rates decline.

"We also looked at the scarce literature on dating violence, if only because we know that dating violence is a precursor to what becomes very serious forms of domestic violence or sexual contact violence in older years," he said. "There we find the themes of masculinity very closely bound up with what kids do to their dates. We find that violations of gender roles represent a challenge to the status and respect and identity that young men bring to the streets. We also find that dating is part of what Eli Anderson calls a high-stakes sexual game that again is very closely tied to the ideas of identity and status. In a context where gender roles often permit the use of coercive action, including violence—the cultural permission to hit—the conflation with the emotionally charged atmosphere of this high-stakes sexual game sets up an awful lot of dating violence. This is one of the subtexts coming out in our interviews in New York City, which is very scary, and we haven't quite figured out how to handle it.

"The fourth context of violence that we talked about was the context of acquisitive violence— robbery. And here we found there really are two issues at play," Fagan said. "One is the idea of obtaining material goods. Material goods are a pathway to identity and to status, and we know that there's been a great deal of emphasis on hyper consumption and excessive displays of wealth as a form of status in the absence of other forms of status.

"But we also find there are other functions that acquisitive violence performs," he added. "In acquiring goods there are elements of domination, humiliation, the assertion of power, and the conformance to group norms and group goals."

Fagan said, "Looking across these contexts of violence, we've tried to understand exactly what functions violence does serve. A brief list (fig. 23), roughly in order of importance, shows what seem to be the themes that come out with respect to the functionality of violence. We find that it is goal-oriented. We find that with respect to social control there is a very, very strong moralistic component to violence—the enforcement of rules, the resolving of disputes and personal grievances, as well as business or other kinds of grievances. We find that there's a great deal of defiance attached to violence. People just simply don't like being controlled, being told what to do—or they reject a normative culture. We find a culture of opposition that is very strong, very active.

"Much of the quest for status and identity and respect

Fig. 23. **Functions of Adolescent Violence**

Impression management: achieving and maintaining status, "respect," and identity
Materialism and social identity
Coercion, domination, and power
Social control Retributive violence Pre-emptive or anticipatory violence Grievance expression
Defiance
Thrills, risk taking
Expressions of masculinity, challenges to gender roles
Business violence

Source: Fagan, J., and Wilkinson, D. (forthcoming 1997). "The Functions of Adolescent Violence." Violence in American Schools, edited by Delbert S. Elliot and Beatrix Hamburg. New York: Cambridge University Press.

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comes from the idea of social control. You can't 'dis' me because you violated not just my personal space and my identity, you violated a rule," he pointed out. "You just don't act that way to other people, and the normative punishment for that ranges from very, very small amounts of violence to very large amounts of violence. There aren't really many non-violent alternatives, particularly in the world of adolescents.

"We find other functions, including the quest for thrills and risk taking," Fagan noted. "There are some business aspects to violence, but not as much as we had originally thought—in fact, not nearly as much. I suspect that's going to go by the wayside.

"Out of all this, we attempted to come up with a framework that would help us begin to think about what to do about violence among adolescents," he said.

"First is goal orientation," Fagan said. "It's important to recognize that much of violence is goal oriented. In fact, I'm beginning to wonder just how much expressive violence there really is. Except in the small number of cases of people who are emotionally disturbed, I think there are identifiable goals in most violent acts.

"Second, we find that violent events seem to occur as a result of the confluence of risk taking, impulsivity, and the effect upon people of the contingencies of specific locales.

"Third, violence really reflects situated transactions among adolescents. These are phenomena that are shaped by the contexts themselves. People bring motivations and propensities to the event, and then circumstances take over, and shift it and steer it as a dynamic and contingent event," he continued. "Much of what happens at point A in an event depends on what the other guy says to the first guy, and on and on. One of our kids says, 'This is a chess game. You're wondering, does he have a gun? Do I have a gun? Who's got his back? Do my boys have my back? Do any of my boys have a beef with any of his boys?' We find this is a very, very elaborate social world.

"Also, the role of bystanders here cannot be underestimated," Fagan added. "Bystanders are absolutely critical. They are real, but we are also finding that they are internalized. People do violent acts in the absence of real bystanders because they are anticipating what others might think when news of this stuff gets out on the street. So the normative values placed on violent behavior—how people react to it and the status accorded to it—have a great deal of influence even in private decision making about violent transactions.

"Fourth, we're getting a pretty strong feeling about scripts being evident in violent events," he continued. "We find that scripts are both developmental and cultural in nature. We think that scripts serve many different functions. They are frameworks for perceiving and analyzing events. They are repertoires that one learns to apply in specific situations. We find that scripts are invoked in reaction to situational dynamics and cues. To the extent that somebody has a small number of scripts and three of them are violent, the odds of being violent are quite high.

"We also find that the choice of scripts varies across individuals and across neighborhoods," Fagan pointed out. "We're interviewing kids from three neighborhoods, and we find that they are actually quite different in the way these events unfold. We find neighborhood influences get to the anticipation of safety or lack thereof. We find scripts seem to anticipate a very dangerous ecology on the streets from very early in childhood; the scripts themselves are learned in anticipation of this notion of danger. Kids don't feel safe; they assume that others may have hostile intentions.

"Successful scripts are intrinsically rewarding and likely to be repeated, and we find a lot of them are automatic," he observed. "You know that when you get behind the wheel of a car, very often you drive on automatic pilot. Well, a lot of these scripts are very, very automatic and very symbolic; kids say, 'Well, it just happened. I didn't think about it.'

"I'm deeply underwhelmed with the intervention literature on trying to teach people how to avoid confrontations," Fagan said. "It just doesn't match with what we understand about what's happening in violent events on the street. We think better scripts need to be taught both early and late. We need to recognize developmental issues in fighting and really understand that transitional point when rough-and-tumble becomes serious intentional violence with a larger goal. We need to understand how guns play into these scripts, because they certainly do. Positive scripts can cut violence short; they teach strategic thinking.

"Whatever script is taught needs to be practiced under conditions of arousal and fear, not under classroom conditions. To the extent we can, we should simulate real-life conflicts," he said. "I don't know how you teach cognitive

skills, but I think we need to think about understanding the skills necessary to analyze situations and actions. There's a great set of passages in Geoffrey Canada's book, *Fist, knife, stick, gun*, where he writes about how he learned how to walk away from a violent event without losing face. He practiced this in his neighborhood, on the streets. He came up with something like, 'I could whip your ass if I wanted to, but I'm not going to!' This left the door wide open for the other guy to say, 'Yeah, well, so can I, so blah, blah, blah.' They both could then walk away and remain non-violent. This takes very, very highly developed skills, both interpersonal and cognitive, to figure out how to do this."

Fagan added, "I think we need to teach kids a little bit about complicity as bystanders. They're not just paying for tickets to see the fight; they are part of the action and they need to understand that. Again, there's a very strong propensity pushing people to be complicit bystanders, but we need to think about how to change that.

"I also think the idea of doing research by looking at events as a base for reconstructing decisions and understanding the natural history of a violent interaction is something that's very important—especially in complement with research that looks at other issues, such as propensities toward violence," he said.

Legal and Illegal Work: Crime, Work, and Unemployment

Turning to his paper on the economic effects of legal and illegal work, Fagan said, "In the face of increased punishment throughout the 1980s, violence rates and crime generally increased, though any common economic formulation will suggest that they should have declined. Why didn't they decline?

"Possibly there's an increase in propensity or motivation. Maybe it's defiance," he suggested. "Or maybe it's just simply a market behavior that reflects the isolation of kids from the mainstream economic world. I lean toward the last explanation.

"The argument goes something like this," Fagan said. "Manufacturing jobs disappeared. These are the jobs that seem to most closely affect the lives of families of the kids who are committing the majority of homicides today. It affects them both individually and also their neighborhoods.

"In turn, we had a very sharp increase in the numbers of unskilled workers, who were basically excluded from the changing labor market that now valued technical skills and interpersonal dynamics," he continued.

"Third, wages declined, particularly for unskilled workers," Fagan pointed out. "Wages went down hard and fast, and this reduced the incentives for kids to enter legal labor markets. On the flip side, there was no disincentive, no cost, for these kids to avoid crime.

"Fourth, what emerged is this notion that legal work, when contrasted with illegal work, is pretty obnoxious," he said. "We still hear stories about the humiliation in the daily workplace for non-white kids working for white bosses—serious forms of racial epithets being hurled, denigration, and petty humiliations.

"Plus, in the culture of opposition to the dominant culture there was a rejection of work," Fagan noted. "This expanded to looking at people who worked legally for wages as chumps who were exploited; these workers were accorded a very low social status because of their low pay and exploitation.

"As a result, there was a flip, and in the flip crime became a substitute for work," he explained. "We hear kids say crime *is* going to work. This whole idea of crime becoming a substitute for work is a powerful incentive, compounded by the isolation of the neighborhoods.

"Finally, the monetary incentives for crime rose," Fagan pointed out. "Unfortunately, there are just not very many data sets available that look at the issue of illegal wages, but those that do suggest that crime may, in fact, pay (fig. 24). And you can imagine in a closed social environment how legendary tales of high rolling can have a great deal of influence, especially given the low-wage, low-status alternatives.

"In a study I conducted in two northern Manhattan neighborhoods, Central Harlem and Washington Heights, from 1986 through 1988, after adjusting for average drug expenses of $1,500 per month, net annual drug incomes of dealers ranged from $6,000 to $27,000. More than one fourth of the sellers also had legal incomes, ranging from $150 to $750 per month," he noted. "And the more you worked legally, the less you made illegally. So drug selling really did pay, at least for this group of people in New York City. There's lots of consistent data that show an income of roughly $30 per hour on the street, no benefits, from selling drugs.

"A national study showed that the more you work illegally, the less you make legally. If you were in jail in 1980, the odds of your making money legally at a high rate in 1989

Fig. 24. **Illegal Wage Estimates**

Study	Data	Year	Annualized Crime Income ($)
Wilson and Abrahamse	NCVS	1988	$ 2,368 (mid-rate burglars) $ 5,711 (high-rate burglars)
Freeman	Boston	1989	$ 752 (infrequent offenders) $ 5,176 (high-rate offenders)
Lucas	3 cities	1989 (adj)	$ 2,423 (underreported by .33)
Reuter et al.	Washington, DC	1988	$ 25,000 ($30 per hour)
Fagan	2 NYC areas	1987-91	$ 6,000 (infrequent drug sellers) $ 27,000 (frequent drug sellers)
Hagedorn (drug selling only)	Milwaukee	1987-91	$ 12,000 (20%) $ 20,000 (20%) $ 36,000 (25%)
Huff	4 cities	1990-92	$ 25,000 ($30 per hour reservation wage to forego drug selling and other illegal income)

Source: Fagan, J., and Freeman, R.A. (forthcoming), "Legal and Illegal Work: Crime, Work and Unemployment," *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research*, Volume 23, edited by Michael Tonry, University of Chicago Press.

were very, very low," Fagan said. "And your 1989 income figures were independent of human capital. In fact, what you made had nothing to do with how good you were in the workplace, which is a rather startling finding. It had to do with the likelihood of having been incarcerated early on and the compounding of the effect of incarceration over the course of the nine-year period.

"What *not* to do about crime and work?" he asked. "Early incarceration. What *to* do about crime and work. Raise wages—that's undeniable.

"Second—these are no-brainers that were born in another political era—work and human capital development," Fagan said.

"And third is paying very close attention to developmental transitions around school to work and to the formation of conceptions of work and its payoffs and the downside tradeoffs against illegal work," he concluded.

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Evaluating Programs Intended to Reduce Youth Violence

Though many approaches to reducing youth violence have been tried, few have been evaluated thoroughly. Delbert Elliott, of the University of Colorado's Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence, opened a session on evaluations by recalling that he had recently testified before the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Youth Violence with regard to the re-authorization of the 1974 delinquency prevention and control act.

"This question was the critical issue: 'What have we learned since the 1974 act about the prevention and control of delinquency?' he said. "It was excruciatingly clear that we're forced to make a lot of decisions and implement policies without very much information about whether they work or whether they don't. No business could survive with the strategies that we have employed. We look at current programs that are popular—conflict resolution programs in schools, for example—on which we're spending millions and millions of dollars and have absolutely no idea whether these programs are effective or not effective. A business wouldn't survive if it were to proceed without some minimal R&D on a product it was selling."

He continued, "At the same time, we do know that there are some things that don't work, and, unfortunately, we have not done a good job communicating that to our policymakers either. So we have boot camps being implemented, and yet there's absolutely no evidence that these programs work.

"I think we need to take the responsibility to communicate to policymakers and practitioners what the actual knowledge base is," Elliott said. "It's important that we can, in fact, say that there are some things that do not appear to work and we ought not to be wasting our money and resources on those things. At the same time, we are able to make some informed judgments about what kinds of strategies we ought to be looking at, and we ought to evaluate them carefully, so that over time we can make necessary adjustments.

"Peter Greenwood's paper comparing the cost-effectiveness in California of the Three-Strikes law versus alternative interventions offers one of the kinds of strategies that has some potential effectiveness with legislators, given the current political climate. He presents arguments having to do not only with what works but with what is cost effective," he said. "Greenwood is the director of RAND's Criminal Justice Program. He comes with an extensive background in looking at and evaluating violence prevention, crime prevention, drug prevention programs, but I think the interesting part is that his degrees are in industrial engineering, which makes him uniquely qualified to address this particular issue from this perspective."

A Cost-Benefit Evaluation of Programs Intended to Divert Children from Crime

Greenwood responded, "Del blew my cover—I am an industrial engineer by training and actually a policy analyst by practice; I'm not a criminologist." Launching into his presentation, he continued, "The work I'm going to talk about grew out of work we did with the Three-Strikes law. We know from the crime trends Alfred Blumstein covered that violence is up. What's the public and private response? We've got demands for tougher mandatory sentences. We're getting that all across the country; there's no place that seems to be immune from it. California's 'Three Strikes and You're Out' law is the most ambitious of these. We did a study of the effects of that law that was concluded in September 1994. It projected a 100- to 150-percent increase in criminal justice costs for a decrease of 28 percent in serious crimes perpetrated by adults."

Noting that tougher sentencing laws were originally seen as a values issue, Greenwood pointed out, "Now, with corrections the fastest-growing part of most state budgets, the dollars and cents of criminal justice are making an impression on a lot of state legislatures."

"So where does prevention fit into all of this?" he asked. "Well, prevention's a good thing. Most politicians are for it. Attorney generals are for it. All police chiefs are for it. But that's lip service. You get a few pilot programs funded. You get huge numbers of community agencies claiming everything they do is prevention—I've listened to the L.A. City Council go through hearings, and the fire department claims it spends $3 million a year on youth violence prevention. Every dime spent on a kid can be claimed to be spent on violence prevention.

"There's little effort at quality control or evaluation," Greenwood noted. "Hardly any of the programs are evaluated, and there's hardly any attempt to see what kind of models they're following. Even at the academic level we've got very limited information about what works or what the potential impacts will be."

He continued, "The ultimate question is—with everybody concerned about violence, and states prepared to throw, in California's case billions of dollars a year at this issue—how much are we willing to spend to achieve how much reduction in violence, and what's the most cost-effective means of achieving it? That often gets lost in the battle, where the only question asked is, 'Are you for criminals or not for criminals?'"

Noting that the Three Strikes evaluation showed a cost of approximately $16,000 for every serious crime prevented by the law, Greenwood pointed out that California would end up spending more than $5.5 billion per year if the law were to be invoked in all eligible cases. "This raised the question of what else we could do with that amount of money," he said. "We raised the question of prevention, and we got jumped on by a lot of people who like Three Strikes. They said, 'You don't have any numbers to talk about prevention.' I knew then that this study had to be done. What we did was to develop a consistent framework for targeting programs and projecting impacts over the life of participants—'How much crime do you prevent by putting a particular kid into a particular kind of program?'"

Greenwood's group surveyed studies by a number of researchers and decided to focus on four forms of intervention (fig. 25).

1. Home visits and daycare - "That's the work that Hero Yoshikawa will review later on," Greenwood said. "You identify high-risk moms and try and help them have a healthy birth. You go around afterwards with home visits on a regular basis, and then you get the child into early childhood education."

2. Parent training - "Parents of acting-out kids receive some form of parent training so they can learn how to monitor the child's behavior and respond with appropriate rewards and punishments."

3. Graduation incentives - "For the past four years, the Ford Foundation has sponsored the Quantum Opportunity Program. If kids aren't in school, no matter what you do, it's not going to have much impact on them. And generally in these high-risk neighborhoods, we're dealing with astronomically high drop-out rates. The graduation incentive program was designed to keep kids in school. It keeps them in school with financial rewards, some of them on the basis of grades. Some of the rewards are immediate, and some of them build up as a trust fund, so when the kids graduate, they have money to go to college or to a trade school. It's a four-year program, and it has been run in four or five inner-city neighborhoods for high-risk kids."

4. Early delinquency intervention - "Generally, juvenile courts' probation departments don't have much to do for those kids who show up at age 12 or 13. They send them home; they don't do anything. The idea here is some kind of structured intervention for those kids and probably for their parents."[1]

Fig. 25. **Comparison of Four Prevention Programs**

	Home Visits/ Daycare	Parent Training	Graduation Incentives	Early Delinquents
Pilot Prevention Rate	50%	60%	70%	10%
Program Cost	$25,400	$3,000	$12,520	$10,000
Effective Prevention Rate – juvenile crime	24%	29%	36%	8%
Effective Prevention Rate – adult crime	9%	11%	14%	3%

SOURCE: Peter W. Greenwood, Karyn E. Model, C. Peter Rydell, and James Chiesa, "Diverting Children from a Life of Crime: What are the Costs and Benefits?" RAND, MR-699-UCB/RC/IF, 1996

The first line of figure 25 shows the prevention rate the literature reports these programs achieve. Greenwood added, "We don't have follow-ups to tell us what will have happened by the time these kids are 18 or 25 or 30 years old. On early interventions—home visits and daycare—we've got maybe a five-year follow-up. The Perry Preschool is the only one that follows them up for a long period of time. Overall, we see something like a 50-percent reduction in problem behaviors."

Like the early intervention programs, parent training programs typically have followed up the children they served for about five years. Greenwood estimates these programs achieve a 60-percent prevention rate.

Though the prevention rate graduation incentives achieve is based on a single study, Greenwood noted that it is "well-documented, and they're showing a 70-percent reduction in arrests." Finally, studies of programs for young delinquents show that a good program compared to no program at all may create a 10-percent reduction in delinquency.

The second line of figure 25 shows program costs. "There are enormous differences," Greenwood pointed out. "The home visit, daycare kind of stuff is a very expensive program—$29,000 per participant. Parent training has a modest cost. We're talking $3,000 for about 10 or 20 sessions. Graduation incentives over four years cost about $12,000, and structured delinquency programs cost about $10,000."

Noting that the data figure 25 is based on come primarily from small-scale pilot programs, Greenwood explained that he had taken into account the effects of scaling up as well as of the elapsed time from the intervention period to adolescence to come up with what he calls the "effective prevention rate" for juvenile and adult crime (lines 3 and 4).

"What happens when you don't have this program run by the Yale Guidance Clinic but by the Los Angeles County Department of Public Health?" he asked. "I don't know, but we all have a suspicion it's not going to be as good."

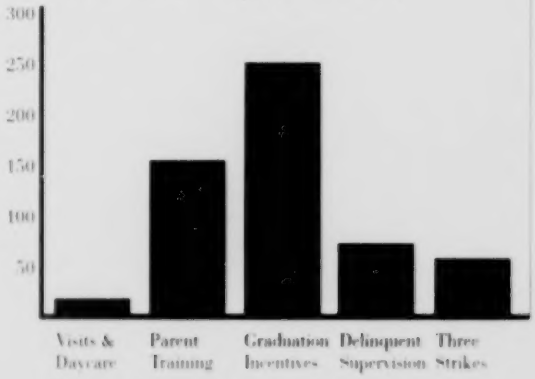
So, when it comes to scale-up, because home visits and daycare are complicated programs Greenwood assumes a greater decay in their effectiveness than for graduation incentives, which are much more straightforward.

"The other thing we have is age decay," Greenwood said. "We've only measured stuff over five years, and the effects that you see up to age six are not likely to persist." Here again, because home visits and daycare occur early in a child's life, there is more likelihood of their effectiveness having diminished by adolescence than there is with graduation incentives, which occur in adolescence itself.

Figure 26 shows how these four types of interventions stack up against Three Strikes in their ability to prevent serious crime. "If you spend a million dollars on Three Strikes, you prevent about 60 serious crimes," Greenwood said. "Figure 26 shows what you prevent with home visits and daycare, parent training, graduation incentives, and delinquency supervision. The numbers show that graduation incentives are four times more effective than locking people up; parent training looks to be about three times more effective.

Fig. 26. **Cost-Effectiveness of Early Interventions Versus Three Strikes**

(Serious crimes averted per million dollars)



sources: Peter W. Greenwood, Karyn E. Model, C. Peter Rydell, and James Chiesa, "Diverting Children from a Life of Crime: What are the Costs and Benefits?" RAND, MR-699-UCB/RC/IF, 1996.

"The surprise was that home visits and daycare do not do so well, given their initial high effectiveness," he pointed out. "One problem we're dealing with here is discounting. You're investing in year one, and you've got to wait 16, 17 years to get your returns. So, with any kind of discount rate put in there it's very hard to show that there's cost-effective crime prevention.

"I think there are lots of other benefits that come out of those programs, like reductions of later births, health-care savings, what have you," Greenwood added. "But nobody else has figured out the cost effectiveness of those, and we didn't have the time to put it in.

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"One of the things that the big expense in prisons does for us now is that not only can we talk about saving crime, we can talk about saving future correctional costs," he continued. For example, a graduation incentive program that cost $1 million would save between $850,000 and $900,000 in averted prison costs. "It seems to almost pay for itself," Greenwood said. "Parent training programs save about $300,000, so you get about 1/3 of the money back in reduced correctional costs."

Greenwood then explained how his group had dealt with the uncertainty of the parameters they had set for comparing these five approaches to crime prevention. "We're not sure what the real pilot prevention rate is," he acknowledged. "We're not sure what the cost per participant is. So we did an analysis to say, 'How wrong can we be and still be confident that something is an effective program?'"

What their analysis showed was that even if their figures were off by as much as 50 percent, parent training and graduation incentives would both still be more cost effective than Three Strikes. In his paper, Greenwood states, "Based on current best estimates of program costs and benefits, investments in some interventions for high-risk youth may be several times more cost-effective in reducing serious crime than long mandatory sentences for repeat offenders. Furthermore, investments in these interventions may have additional payoffs that we do not account for in our cost-effectiveness estimates. For example, if such programs prove cost-effective, they could take some of the burden off our prisons and make the Three-Strikes law more affordable by diverting youth from a life of crime. In fact, our preliminary calculations suggest that a large share of the cost of some early-intervention alternatives may be offset by long-term reductions in prison costs.

"Given the evidence we have, it looks like a couple of these programs are at least as promising as Three Strikes," Greenwood concluded. "So why don't we have the political hue and cry for prevention that we have for prison building? The answer to that I think was in the newspaper today, where I read that when architects convene and talk about public building programs, the number-one public building program is prisons. Lots of people are making money out of this, and we don't seem to have a lot of people who know how to make money on the prevention business. Therein lies a problem."[2]

Evaluating the Cost-Benefit Evaluation: Does Greenwood's Analysis Hold Up?

Jacqueline Cohen, associate director of the Urban Systems Institute and principal research scientist in the Heinz School of Public Policy and Management at Carnegie Mellon, has conducted copious research on policy and evaluation, including major work on incapacitation, criminal careers, and changes and expected changes in prison populations over time. More recently, her work has focused on illegal drug use and its relationship to violent offending and on the effectiveness of various policing policies. She is currently exploring the relationship between firearm use and violence.

Cohen had been asked by Philip Heymann to draw on her expertise to provide a disinterested appraisal of Peter Greenwood's cost-benefit analysis. She began by saying, "I took very seriously Phil Heymann's charge to look carefully at the details of the analysis in Peter's paper. I think he wanted somebody to look at it independently and give some holy water or not to the credibility of the analysis.

"It's a very complex paper, so what I've done is pursue two different objectives," she continued. "First, I've taken a sort of independent auditor's role, in which I've looked at Peter's methods and key assumptions as well as assessing measures and quantities that are used throughout the analysis.

"The second thing I tried to do is to explore some opportunities to enrich the analysis, in particular looking at what kind of additional considerations might be added to the analysis, what impact they would have on the results, and how they might actually be pursued in the analysis," Cohen said.

"As part of my audit function, I used a couple of general guidelines to look at the details of the analysis," she explained. "One was, does the analysis make sense internally. Is what's going on in there consistent and compatible internally? Is it logical?

"The other was to look at the work in relationship to the general state of knowledge about key factors that affect criminal behavior and the interrelationships among these various factors. And to examine the extent to which the analysis recognizes its own limitations and acknowledges them and their impact on the results," Cohen added.

"Peter's overview was extremely useful in terms of getting to the heart of the matter, which is more difficult to get to in the paper itself," she noted. "The complexity of the analysis is illustrated in part by the number of parameters

that are involved just in getting at the impact and the cost effectiveness of these various programs. One of the issues is, are the parameters reasonable?

"Generally speaking, the parameters are consistent with observable data," Cohen stated. "In fact, the parameters were estimated by using observable data, such as the total number of offenses reported to police, the number of arrests, the number of prisoners in prison, recidivism rates. Those were the anchors for estimating a lot of the parameters of the flow of offenders in and out of offending and in and out of prison."

Turning to the programs included in the study, Cohen addressed the prevention levels associated with them. "How do you extrapolate from the impacts on a specially chosen small pilot population to a much broader target population and estimate what the impacts are going to be there? And how do you extrapolate from the short follow-up that usually is available for a prevention program's evaluation to a longer follow-up that is closer to what is a normal expected criminal career?

"Another particularly important feature of the analysis is the sensitivity analysis," she continued. "Because of the uncertainty of a lot of the parameters in the model, this was very important. Though I had quibbles with a number here or a number there, the sensitivity analysis, in which Peter explored what the impact would be if other values were assigned to the various parameters and reported that 258 crimes could be expected to be prevented per $1 million for graduation incentives compared to 60 crimes prevented under a Three Strikes law, was very compelling in showing that a wide range of variation in individual parameters still leads to a situation in which the prevention program is more cost effective than the Three Strikes imprisonment policy.

"So the results were found to be very robust," she said. "Notably, they weren't sensitive to varying decay rates, and those were the parameters that most troubled me—for instance, the 70-percent decay rate on the juvenile home visits and daycare. One of the emerging axioms of offending and offending careers is the enormous continuity of this behavior over time, and how conduct disorders and troublesome behavior in young children lead to delinquency, which leads to criminal offending. To the extent that we can actually disrupt that chain early on, I would expect that there would be more endurance of the effects of early intervention, not the level of decay on the order of 70 percent that was assumed in the model. Well, it turns out that it doesn't matter; you can even assume 100-percent decay. Even if the effects go away entirely after exposure to the prevention program, you still have a more cost-effective program than Three Strikes."

How could the analysis be expanded? Cohen suggested, "One possibility would be to empirically inform the policy debate about how broadly to apply these prevention programs. There's tension in some of these programs between perverse incentives that get created by narrowing the target population to at-risk people or people who have actually gotten involved with trouble. A lot of these programs are desirable to be in, so this creates a sort of perverse incentive to do bad, to get into trouble, so you can get into this good program. A tension arises as you increase costs associated with the program as you broaden and extend who's eligible for it. So some consideration of that in the actual analysis might be worthwhile.

"Another issue is the linearity of the analysis," she said. "In the analysis, a linear relationship arises from taking an average of the crime prevented per cost. That gets applied no matter how big or little you make the program. But there are probably non-linearities in these relationships—marginal returns associated with spending more on a program and expanding how many people are involved. But if there are decreasing marginal returns, then the payoff of the prevention programs may actually be smaller than the analysis shows, and, alternatively, if there are increases in marginal returns, there will be a bigger payoff. So we need some consideration of the nature of these returns. In order to get at that, what really is needed is to do more pilot programs. We need them evaluated. We need them done on a range of different kinds of populations, with different costs associated with them, so that instead of having, as in the graduation incentive situation, one point that represents real data, we need to start seeing a whole range of points over various values so that we can start to get some sense of the shape of these returns."

The Seattle Project: A Program That's Working

David Hawkins, director of the University of Washington's Social Development Research Group, was the next speaker. Del Elliott noted, "David is probably one of the leading persons in the country in developing a theoretically grounded strategy for interventions focusing upon public-health-model

risk-protective factors. He has both initiated a research effort that attempts to implement those kinds of strategies in a field trial and evaluated the results of that work. It's also the case that David's work in Communities That Care model is widely disseminated now in the United States and is being implemented in a number of states across the country under

Fig. 27.

Risk Factors	Adolescent Problem Behaviors				
	Substance Abuse	Delinquency	Teen Pregnancy	School Drop-Out	Violence
Community					
Availability of Drugs	◆				
Availability of Firearms		◆			◆
Community Laws and Norms Favorable Toward Drug Use, Firearms, and Crime	◆	◆			◆
Media Portrayals of Violence					◆
Transitions and Mobility	◆	◆		◆	
Low Neighborhood Attachment and Community Disorganization	◆	◆			◆
Extreme Economic Deprivation	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
Family					
Family History of the Problem Behavior	◆	◆	◆	◆	
Family Management Problems	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
Family Conflict	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
Favorable Parental Attitudes and Involvement in the Behavior	◆	◆			◆
School					
Early and Persistent Anti-Social Behavior	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
Academic Failure in Elementary School	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
Lack of Commitment to School	◆	◆	◆	◆	
Individual/Peer					
Alienation and Rebelliousness	◆	◆		◆	
Friends Who Engage in a Problem Behavior	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
Favorable Attitudes Toward the Problem Behavior	◆	◆	◆	◆	
Early Initiation of the Problem Behavior	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
Constitutional Factors	◆	◆			◆

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the sponsorship of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention."

Hawkins began by referring to Peter Greenwood's study: "I think one of the reasons that policymakers may not have attended to this is because I'm not sure they've heard what Peter has done. Peter makes the statement that graduation incentives and parent training interventions could together reduce serious crime by 22 percent, at a combined annual cost of less than $1 billion. If it is indeed worth $5.5 billion a year to reduce serious crime by 28 percent, as Three Strikes is estimated to do, it might be worth spending another $900 million a year to roughly double that reduction. I think that it may be well worth presenting this kind of information to policymakers, because I don't think we've done this before.

"How policymakers will respond, I think, is an open question," he added. "In our work with states, we continue to find, surprisingly, that the same governors who are saying, 'We are going to lock up young offenders; we're going to remand them to adult systems,' often in the same breath say, 'But we understand that we can't only do that. We must do effective prevention if we're not going to bankrupt our state with a correctional response.' So I think there is an openness to hearing that prevention is effective and can make a difference."

Hawkins then turned to his own work, saying that he has found that "real people in real communities who are now responsible for raising and socializing and educating children can in fact be provided with tools to make an incredible difference in that developmental process."

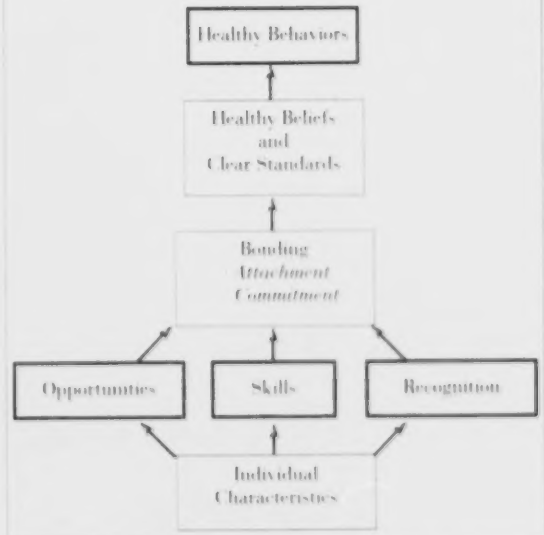
He added, "I don't think we can assume that parents in America today universally have the skills to be effective in child management, nor can we assume that teachers in our schools today have the skills to be effective in either classroom management or in teaching.

"The project I'm going to talk to you about focused on prevention by trying to reduce the risk factors shown in figure 27," Hawkins noted. "We think it's important to address multiple risk factors if we're going to be effective in prevention. Multiple risk factors are responsible for a host of outcomes that people are concerned about, including substance abuse, delinquency, teen pregnancy, and school drop out. The more risk factors an individual is exposed to, the greater that person's risk. That is, the more risk factors that are elevated, the greater the prevalence of antisocial behavior, whether you look at substance abuse or crime and violence.

"In our work we think it's important not only to focus on multiple risk factors but also to have a strategy or a vision for how you enhance protection, not just how you reduce risks," he continued. "A vision that can be used by all the people who are trying to work together in a community toward a common goal. Whether you're a teacher or a youth worker, a minister or a parent, what is it we can do to promote the development of healthy behaviors in young people? Promoting healthy beliefs and clear standards for behavior is a very important thing. As communities we have to have high expectations for children's educational success. We have to have clear messages about the unacceptability of substance abuse and of violent behavior, and so on. We know from epidemiological data that when our norms change about behaviors in a society, the prevalence of those behaviors also changes.

"I think is very important to note, however, that young people don't care what the norms are if they don't feel bonded to the group that's promoting those norms," Hawkins added. "If you have a clear no-drug-use policy in school and kids hate school, they won't care that you have a no-drug-use policy, nor will they stop getting stoned before second peri-

Fig. 28. **The Social Development Strategy**



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od because that's how they like to get through the day. The issue that we have to join really is that it's not a war against drugs or a war against violence; it is, in fact, a struggle to create the conditions that bond young people to the social units or institutions in which we expect to socialize them. When young people become attached to their teachers and schools, when they like school, when they feel committed to school, then they'll pay attention to the norms and standards for behavior offered by that school [fig. 28].

"We've identified three conditions that need to be present in a social group for people to become bonded to that group, whether you're talking about a family unit, a school classroom, or a workplace," he continued. "First is opportunities for active involvement—people need a chance to be active, contributing participants in a group in order to feel bonded to the group.

"Second, people need skills to be successful in these opportunities," Hawkins said. "If you don't teach people the skills, the opportunity can feel like a burden.

"And third, we need to ensure that there's a consistent system that's culturally appropriate for recognition or reenforcement for skillful performance," he said. "When that's present, people become bonded to the group and to that group's normative standards.

"We used these principles as the foundation for a project that we call the Seattle Social Development Project," Hawkins explained. "It was started with funds from the Office of Juvenile Justice in 1981. A number of first-graders in schools in Seattle that serve high-crime neighborhoods were randomly assigned to either experimental project classrooms or control classrooms, as were their teachers. The intervention consisted of parent-focused and teacher-focused interventions. A program for parents with children in first and second grade called "Catch 'Em Being Good" emphasized the positive reinforcement that parents need to do when children are doing well. Another program for parents, "How to Help your Child Succeed in School," addressed academic failure: 'What can I as a parent, maybe without a lot of educational experience and background, do to promote the educational success of my child?' And finally came "Preparing for the Drug-Free Years," a five-session curriculum when the children were in grades five and six to help parents reduce the risk that their children would initiate substance use early, because we know that early initiation is associated with greater probability of substance abuse and the problems associated with substance abuse.

"Teachers were trained in how to teach first-grade students skills for getting along with others without resorting to impulsive behavior," he said. "In grades one through six, the teachers were taught skills to manage the classroom without having to resort to yelling at children, what we call 'the law of least intervention.' It's the difference between the teacher who says, 'I'm not going to teach until everyone in this classroom is quiet,' and the teacher who uses her body when someone's talking, to go stand by that person and continue the lecture. She uses that as a form of informal control, without calling attention to that person and destroying bonding. Another effective instructional practice is continually monitoring the classroom to make sure that everybody's with you, rather than saying, 'Who can tell me what 9 x 6 is?' And when three kids volunteer, you call on one of them, she gets it right, and everybody else is completely confused and falling further behind " He added, "In fact, the project practices were just good teaching.

"In addition, we tried to involve children actively in the classroom, using cooperative learning, in which young people learn in heterogeneous groups of four or five," Hawkins said.

"The Seattle project involved three groups of students: A control group, a late-intervention group that only got the intervention in fifth and sixth grade, and a full-intervention group that got the intervention in grades one through six," Hawkins explained. "We started with 643 students. We're now looking at these children at age 18—that is six years after any intervention. We have tracked 598 of the 643 all over America—even in South America and Japan. About 57 percent were from low-income families. About 44 percent are white, and the rest are people of color.

"There are published results from this study at the end of second grade, at the end of fourth grade, and at the end of sixth grade that suggested there were effects on early initiation of problem behaviors," he pointed out. "The question we are asking now is, do these early effects endure if you don't do anything different during middle school and high school? What we find is that at age 18, six years after the intervention, the children in the full-intervention group continue to have high rates of commitment and attachment to education.

"I want to suggest to you that we may not find decay in effects if we do things to change the social development

process of young people early on," Hawkins said. "We may in fact find greater effects rather than less effects over time because children get on a different developmental trajectory.

"We're also looking now at data from official school records at the end of the 11th grade, at age 17," he added. "We see significantly better school grades, as measured by official school records, and also less being held back and having to repeat a grade. The comparisons that are particularly interesting are between the full experimental group and the control group. You find similar differences whether you're talking about self reports of young people or about official school records of disciplinary action.

"In addition, there were significant reductions in the number of children who reported they had been drunk ten or more times in the last year, a reduction in drinking and driving, and a significant reduction in the proportion reporting involvement in any violent delinquency during their lifetimes—from 60 percent to 49 percent in this sample," Hawkins noted.

"We're seeing significant reductions as well in the proportion of young people who've engaged in sexual activity, had multiple sex partners, or gotten someone pregnant or been pregnant themselves," he added.

"Preventive activities don't necessarily have to be add-on, separate programs," Hawkins pointed out. "They can be programs or strategies that empower communities, parents, and schools to be more effective in reducing risk and enhancing what we know as protective factors. The schools can be helped to do their job of educating children better. When we do these things, we can see from these kinds of studies that interventions that address multiple risk factors can, in fact, have long-term effects on violence and other misbehavior as well."

"What do we know from the analytical perspective about my 12- or 13-year-old first-time car thief?" he asked. "What can I do to prevent, not somebody who's high-risk, but is known risk, from ending up in the higher juvenile categories or the adult system? What have you got to tell me about what a this-year and next-year, real-world, save-the-kid-who-I-know-is-in-trouble program?"

Peter Greenwood responded, "The evidence is out there that there are good programs compared to not-so-good programs for that kind of kid that will probably buy you something in the order of a 10-percent reduction in recidivism. Paying $5,000 or $10,000 to get that 10-percent reduction looks like it's worth it. The problem is, those programs are hard to run, hard to audit, hard to make sure that somebody's really doing a good job."

2. Peter Edelman, Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation in the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, noted, "Peter Greenwood picked a number of programs; one more I would mention is YouthBuild. YouthBuild is a program that Dorothy Stoneman started in East Harlem in 1978. It went national in 1988, and now has federal money, and is in about 100 locations around the country. This is a program for 16- to 24-year-olds; 75 percent are school drop outs; 80 percent are male. The basic program lasts a year. Half the time is spent rehabbing or constructing housing; participants are taught skills on site by a skilled journeyman. The other half is spent in classrooms, working very, very intensely toward a GED or high school diploma. There's counseling, leadership development, involvement by the young people in the governance of the projects. Participants get paid for the work they do—usually about $6,000 a year. Then there are one to two years of follow-up, including continued job counseling, continued work on GED, and recreational activities—they're even setting up an alumni association."

Edelman continued, "They don't have data yet on the later projects, but in the earlier projects, 65 percent of the enrollees and 95 percent of the graduates got jobs averaging more then $7 an hour or went on to college. So the data are very, very positive, and the project has survived, on the whole, the hazards of replication. Here's one program where you can say to the legislators, 'This is something you can really sink your teeth into that has a national track record.'"

Notes

1. This issue was highlighted by Charles Ruff, Corporation Counsel for the District of Columbia, who said, "I've got two problems in the District of Columbia. I've got a long-term generation-saving problem, which is the principal focus of the discussion, and I've got a very bad near-term generation-saving problem.

Early Intervention: A Cure for Violence?

What are the programs that work best to prevent youth violence? Conferees began by looking at the effects of intervention in early childhood.

What Are We Trying to Prevent?

Lawrence Aber, the director of the National Center for Children in Poverty at Columbia University's School of Public Health, opened the discussion: "I'm going to begin by asking a question that came up at the end of the first session, which is, what are we trying to prevent? This conference is about youth violence, but youth violence is certainly not the way developmentalists think about it. Violence is related to a whole set of other problem behaviors. Most of the research we're going to draw on to understand whether it's possible to prevent violence is actually a literature that addresses a broader range of problems.

"Violence is one part of what some people call 'adolescent problem behavior syndrome,'" he continued. "The syndrome includes substance abuse, violent and antisocial behavior, unprotected sexual behavior, relationships with peers at risk, coercive aggression in personal relationships, and academic failure. If you think of violence as being independent of but related to this syndrome, you can begin to tease out all the different forms of violence—committing violence, being a victim of violence, or witnessing it—and their relationship to adolescent problem behavior syndrome.

"This is going to end up being very important in terms of thinking about the determinants of violence," Aber said. "If we're only thinking about preventing or predicting adolescent problem behavior syndrome, that's much simpler than thinking about predicting or preventing violence independent of adolescent problem behavior syndrome.

"We're very clear that the developmental routes to violence are similar to those for adolescent problem behavior syndrome," he said. "Violence is a part of the syndrome. To the degree that we want to distinguish violence as an especially important feature, I think we have less to go on intellectually. This is part of the challenge, and we should be candid about that and face it up front."

He went on, "Studies of the associations between risk factors and outcomes increasingly have shown that there is a series of causal processes that link the two. Increasingly, there has been interest in moderating factors—not just what mediates the relationship between risk and outcome, but, under what conditions do those relationships get stronger or weaker?"

Long-Term Effects of Early Childhood Programs

Hiro Yoshikawa's evaluation of the long-term effects of 40 early childhood programs provided a partial answer to Aber's question. Yoshikawa, who is currently completing his Ph.D. in clinical psychology at New York University, is project coordinator of the Task Force on Head Start and Mental Health of the American Orthopsychiatric Association. In his paper on the long-term effects of early childhood programs on social outcomes and delinquency, Yoshikawa asks three questions: (1) Are there risk factors in early childhood that increase the probability of later chronic delinquency? (2) Do these factors cause chronic delinquency, or are they only associated with it? (3) Can early childhood programs that lessen the impact of these factors help prevent chronic delinquency? Figure 29 summarizes the risk factors identified by current research, as well as modifying factors that strengthen or weaken these risk factors.

Commenting on his own research, which focused on answering the third question, Yoshikawa noted, "The early childhood intervention literature has a rich history, and the paper draws on about the last 20 or so years of evaluations. All of these programs occurred between the prenatal period and the age of 5 years. Most target families of poverty; more than half of the participants in these studies were African-American families.

Fig. 29. **Early Childhood Risk Factors for Delinquent and Antisocial Behavior**

Risk Factors	Relationship Between Risk Factor and Delinquency is Strengthened by Presence of	Relationship Between Risk Factor and Delinquency is Weakened by Presence of
Perinatal difficulties	Low socioeconomic status. Family adversity	—
Neurological and biological factors	—	—
Child's low cognitive ability	—	—
History of antisocial behavior	—	—
Single parenthood[*]	—	—
Insecure attachment of child to parent	Poor parenting. Unplanned birth. Life stress. Low social support	—
Parental criminality	Early family contact	—
Parental substance abuse	—	—
Poor or harsh parenting	Marital discord	Emotional support. Community support
Low socioeconomic status	—	Good parenting. Age-appropriate verbal ability
Violent or socially disorganized neighborhoods	—	—
Media violence	—	—

[*]Evidence indicates that single parenthood is associated with antisocial behavior, but the relationship is probably explained by low socioeconomic status or poor supervision rather than by single parenthood itself.

SOURCE: Hirokazu Yoshikawa, "Long-Term Effects of Early Childhood Programs on Social Outcomes and Delinquency," *The Future of Children* Volume 5, Number 3, Winter 1995, David and Lucile Packard Foundation

"Looking across the programs, I categorized them into three major types (fig. 30)," he said. "First, early education—daily preschool programs like Head Start. There are some differences, but Head Start is the model for a lot of these."

Second, he said, are "family support programs, which provide center-based or home-based support for parents. This is usually a mix of support for parenting, information on child development, and support for the parents' own educational and job goals, as well as support for obtaining a range of other services responding to the needs of whatever's going on in the family.

"Finally, the combination programs are at the top right-hand corner," Yoshikawa pointed out. "These are early education plus family support programs. These tended to be longer, as well as more intensive, and they combined daily, preschool, or infant/toddler programs with comprehensive family support that was parent-directed.

"The table tries to answer two questions," he said. "One is, have early childhood programs affected important risk and protective factors for delinquency? Second, did any of the ones that did affect those risk and protective factors go on to prevent delinquency?

"I categorized the protective factors that were affected into three categories," Yoshikawa noted. "One is early cognitive ability. The second is various measures of quality of parenting, and third is various measures of the maternal life course, which might include things like maternal level of education, economic self sufficiency, employment.

"As you can see, the early education programs were most likely to affect cognitive ability and less likely to affect parenting, maternal life course, antisocial behavior, or later delinquency," he said. "Family support programs, in contrast, are most likely to affect factors such as parenting and maternal life course variables. They were less likely to affect early cognitive ability.

"The third row, the combination programs, had the widest range of effects," Yoshikawa pointed out. "These were the ones that were quite likely to affect risk and protective factors in all three areas. These programs did have long-term effects on delinquency or antisocial behavior. In fact, they had from 8- to 20-year effects.

"The four programs referred to are pretty well known: The Yale Child Welfare Project, the Perry Preschool Project, the Syracuse Child and Family Resource Project, and the

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Fig. 30. **Effects of Early Intervention on Anti-Social Behavior and Its Risks**

Outcome	Type of Program		
	Early Education	Family Support	Early Education and Family Support
Early Cognitive Ability *(IQ, school achievement, language development, or verbal ability)*	of 8 measured: 5 positive 3 mixed	of 14 measured: 5 positive 5 mixed 4 no difference	of 11 measured: 8 positive 3 mixed
Parenting *(mother-child interaction, parenting behavior, attachment, child welfare)*	of 1 measured: 1 mixed	of 19 measured: 13 positive 3 mixed 3 no difference	of 8 measured: 6 positive 1 mixed 1 no difference
Maternal Life Course *(maternal education and employment, childbearing, family economic self-sufficiency)*	of 1 measured: 1 positive	of 6 measured: 5 positive 1 no difference	of 4 measured: 4 positive
Antisocial/Delinquent Behavior *(parent/teacher ratings, official delinquency, or criminal reports)*	of 3 measured: 2 negative 1 no difference (short-term effects)	of 4 measured: 1 positive 3 no difference (short-term effects)	of 4 measured: 4 positive (long-term effects)

This table summarizes information about 8 early education programs, 23 family support programs, and 11 programs that delivered both early education and family support services. Numbers in the table indicate (1) the number of studies that actually measured that particular set of outcomes, (2) the number of studies that demonstrated statistically significant benefits of the program group over the control or comparison group on that particular group of outcomes ("positive"), (3) the number of studies that demonstrated mixed results ("mixed" – some positive or some negative and some not statistically significant, either at different points in time or for different groups of participants), (4) the number of studies in which the comparison group outperformed the intervention group ("negative"), and (5) the number of studies for which there were no statistically significant differences between the program and comparison ("no difference").

SOURCE: Hirokazu Yoshikawa, "Long-Term Effects of Early Childhood Programs on Social Outcomes and Delinquency," *The Future of Children* Volume 5, Number 3, Winter 1995, David and Lucile Packard Foundation

Houston Parent Child Development Center," he commented. "There are more detailed descriptions of the programs in my paper."

Returning to his theme, Yoshikawa said, "So, I found that the combination of early education and family support programs were the only ones to have long-term effects on all three kinds of protective factors as well as on antisocial behavior and delinquency.

"It's important to notice for prevention implications that there's little evidence of spillover effects," he added. "For example, family support programs aren't likely to affect cognitive ability and early education programs aren't likely to affect parenting. So we can't expect solely parent-focused services to affect children's school achievement, nor can we expect child-focused early education by itself to have an effect on parenting.

"What do we know about the cost effectiveness of these programs?" Yoshikawa asked. "The most well-known study is Steve Barnett's analysis of the Perry Preschool Project's long-term effects. He found more than five-dollars-worth of crime-associated benefits for each dollar spent on the program. This large economic benefit is probably due to the expense of the juvenile justice system, because these programs are undeniably expensive. The programs were of high quality: Staff/child ratios were 1 to 3 for infant and toddlers, 1 to 6 for preschoolers, with extensive support for staff. They were also demonstration projects.

"However, the expenses of high-intensity, high-quality early childhood programs need to be considered in the context of other potential benefits," he continued. "For instance, a few programs have found reductions in the numbers of subsequent births among their long-term effects.

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Some have had effects on the economic self sufficiency of parents. Also, these programs cut down on the need for remedial services at school; children in them went on to repeat fewer grades. And program children had increased employability as young adults, which may be linked with the delinquency prevention effect.

"Why should high-intensity early childhood programs affect such a range of outcomes?" Yoshikawa asked. "The developmental literature offers some reasons. These programs address factors common to multiple outcomes, such as child cognitive ability, parenting, and maternal life course. Those factors obviously aren't specific only to the development of antisocial behavior but to a whole lot of other developmental outcomes as well. The programs address these factors at a time when child development is still restricted to a few settings—primarily the preschool, the home, and the community. Peer influences and neighborhood involvement influences kick in much later. So this is a point where it's possible through a program to reach a couple of very important settings that kids are developing in.

"The programs also have influence at a time when parent factors may be particularly open to change," he added. "For instance, the decision about whether or when to have a second child may be affected. As far as that goes, it may be very important to time the beginning of a program to the prenatal period.

"Finally, these programs may catch that subgroup of kids who show signs of antisocial behavior quite early and are most likely to become chronically delinquent later," Yoshikawa said. "They may catch those kids at the period when their antisocial behavior first appears.

"So much for the good news," he said. "Now the warnings. There are some reasons to doubt whether simply combining early education and family support will produce these benefits.

"Most of these programs were carried out in the early '70s, that golden time we have been talking about," he pointed out. "Kids now are coming in with much more severe behavioral problems in preschool than in the 1970s; this is something Head Start staff have been noticing across the board."

And the reasons? "The severity of risks has increased," Yoshikawa said. "The deepening of poverty. Surges in neighborhood violence and drug-related violence. Parents are under much greater duress and come into early childhood programs with many more problems of their own.

"It is also the case that these programs with long-term effects were demonstration projects, and it's unclear how scaling up would affect them—though there are some promising initial effects from larger-scale trials, so there is reason for hope there," he added.

"There are some questions that remain to be answered for the future as far as early childhood violence prevention goes," Yoshikawa continued.

"First of all, how do different approaches to violence prevention and early childhood complement each other?" he asked. "Not just early education, family support, and combinations of the two, but also curricula addressing antisocial or hyperactive behaviors, as well as intensive services targeting acting-out children.

"Head Start programs have already begun to respond to the increased level of need by addressing the problems of acting-out children," Yoshikawa noted. "The next generation of early childhood violence prevention programs may need to look more like programs like Fast Track, which combines a universal intervention with targeted intensive services to kids who are really acting out.

"We should also look at the cumulative preventive effects when early childhood violence prevention is followed by middle and late childhood prevention," he concluded. "We may need to talk about a sequence of preventive efforts tailored to the needs of kids at different developmental periods and not just talk about a magic bullet occurring in early childhood, middle childhood, or late childhood."

The Importance of Elementary School

Moving from the intellectual to the practical, the next speaker was Velma Pryce, who has been an educator for 42 years, the past 22 as a principal. As she retires this year from the Florence Johnson Chester Elementary School in New Orleans, she can look back on a record of success against difficult odds. One of her greatest successes was getting the FBI to take on her school as part of the Adopt-A-School program in 1994, at a time when New Orleans had the second highest per-capita murder rate in the country and there were 13 murders in the area around the B.W. Cooper housing complex where most of her students live.

The Junior Special Agents program sponsored by the FBI is just one of a number of programs that Pryce has put

together to help children at Chester. "Because of our community policing program, in two years the murder rate went down to two," she said, "and Al Gore, the Vice President of the United States, came to visit our school.

"But I want you to know that these things don't just happen overnight," Pryce said. "They happen because you step out and you make the difference. I listen to all your research, but I'm working with children. I can't teach a child who is hungry. Don't tell me you give his parents food stamps, so therefore you're going to cut the food at the school. If I have a hungry child, I'm going to feed him, and then I can teach him. That's where I'm coming from.

"I'd like to close by telling you that the programs are out there," she said. "Find them. We can do anything we want to do. We can stop a war—how many days did Desert Storm take? If children are our number-one national resource—if we really believe that and put children first, we can solve the problems. We must do it. We can do nothing less because we owe it to our children."

After Velma Pryce had finished, David Hawkins spoke up. "I want to say something about the elementary school, because I think it's very important to talk about this institution where we have all of America's children at one time or another.

"First of all, we know that what we're hearing from Velma is absolutely essential," Hawkins declared. "That is, the principal's leadership is a very important thing in elementary school—as well as in other schools.

"Another thing we heard from her was the importance of clear standards and high expectations," he reminded listeners. "In the most devastated neighborhoods, an elementary school principal who creates a culture of high standards and clear expectations for behavior can, in fact, create a new social environment for children in that school.

"The other thing I want to tell you is that in the Seattle Social Development Project, we intervened with teachers and parents," he continued. "That is, we taught teachers how to teach and manage in their classrooms: how to have high expectations for children, how to create a classroom so that it's a place where children can become bonded to the classroom. And we taught parents of elementary students how to do those same kinds of things in developmentally appropriate ways at home.

"We have now followed those children up to age 18, with no intervention between the ages of 12 and 17—only an elementary program that taught teachers how to teach and manage better in the classroom and parents how to be more effective in their parenting," Hawkins said. "We find that 10 years after the intervention the adolescents from the experimental classrooms are more attached to school, more committed to getting an education. They have significantly higher grade-point averages, significantly lower reports of school misbehavior, significantly lower reports of lifetime violence, drinking and driving, sexual activity and teen pregnancy, and involvement with multiple sexual partners.

"What I would suggest to you is that an elementary school of the type we're talking about, where people have high expectations and create a community in the classroom that creates the conditions that build bonding to the classroom, can affect the developmental trajectory of children in a way that has very long-term effects at relatively small additional costs, because we're talking about the teachers and the parents who socialize these children every day being the actual agents of intervention. I don't think we should miss the potential of what elementary schools can do to reduce violence in this country," he concluded.

Mark Moore of Harvard's J.F.K. School of Government asked, "Do you think those effects come from the exposure of the kids to the elementary school or the effect of the elementary school on the group of parents who are in the community?"

Responded Hawkins, "I think it comes from both. I think it has to come from the effects in the elementary school, because if you observe in the classrooms of teachers in Seattle who haven't been through this kind of training, you'll see that two-thirds of the teachers are teaching in a way that doesn't make students feel bonded to the classroom—it makes them fell alienated from the classroom. When we train teachers how to teach and manage differently in the classroom, two-thirds of them do good teaching, bonding teaching."

He continued, "Parents almost universally, if they care about their children at all, want them to get an education. That is, 'If my kid can get an education, maybe he or she has the potential of having a brighter future—but I don't know how to help my child do that because I failed in school. I dropped out of school. I got pregnant as a teenager.' Or, 'I'm scared of math, so how am I supposed to interact with the teacher unless somebody says, "Hey here's how you can talk

to your child's teacher. Here's a simple little game you can play with your child that's going to get him more interested in adding. Read to your child."' These kinds of things empower young teenage moms to make a difference in their children's lives, so they can change the parenting context of the school. But even in the project I'm telling you about, only 40 percent of the parents ever participated in the parenting programs."

Avance: A Family Support Program that Works

The next presenter was Gloria Rodriguez, who founded Avance in 1973. As Peter Edelman put it, "She didn't go into this business solely or even primarily for the purpose of violence prevention. She went into the business of working with families, particularly low-income families with small children under the age of three, in a community context. I think that the people who really make a difference in the end are the people who stay with something and do it over a very, very long period of time. And I think 23 years qualifies as a pretty long time."

Rodriguez opened by telling conferees that she began her career as a schoolteacher. "I have to say that I was very frustrated as a schoolteacher. I was frustrated because the children were coming to school not being able to hold a pencil or draw a circle, very limited both in English and in Spanish. I was very, very frustrated with the fact that there was a lot of violence in the school from the teachers to the children. There was no continuity. There was no parental involvement; there was no cultural sensitivity.

"So I was going to become a Velma Pryce," she continued. "I did get my principal's certificate; I was ready to change the school. And then, all of a sudden, I started asking myself, 'Why is it that some people who live in poverty make it, and others don't?'

"I came from a high-risk family," Rodriguez said. "My mother had a third-grade education. I lost my father when I was two; I lost my grandmother that same year. So my mother went through a lot of stress with five girls, one year apart, age 2 to age 6. We were forced to live in the housing project for two years while we had our house built next to our uncle's house.

"I kept asking myself, 'Well, what is it that made the difference?'" she continued. "And I realized that when my grandmother died, my grandfather moved in—he became the father. We had a strong extended family; aunts and uncles were always coming over. There was a great sense of community; everybody knew each other. There were home visitors who came in and taught my mother how to be a better parent. Because of that support, my mother was able to nurture and guide and supervise and inculcate important values.

"I also went back to my own training in early childhood education, and I realized that half of what a child learns from birth to 17 happens by the age of 4," Rodriguez recalled. "Research in infant brain development tells us that values and standards and codes of behavior are really, really set by age three, when children begin to understand right from wrong.

"I started thinking about how the first signs of aggression come from sibling rivalry and how it is coped with and addressed—it is through the parents," she added. "And, most importantly, bonding and attachment happen during these years. Without that—if a child is not loved, he cannot love. He cannot be considerate and give to others.

"Therefore, I left the teaching field; I did not become a principal," Rodriguez said. "Instead, I started Avance, in the housing project adjacent to where I was reared. The number-one rule at Avance is that we treat the people with dignity and respect. If anybody does not treat any one of the participants with respect, they are not going to stay. We want to rekindle the spirit of hope of the people. We're in very poor communities. We have 50 family centers. We hire the people who graduate from the program, because we want to instill the idea of neighbor helping neighbor. These families may not have a grandfather the way I did, but they can meet their neighbors and have the neighbors support each other.

"When I was a schoolteacher, I went to the parents of the children I taught, and I found out from this survey that they loved their children; they valued education," she remembered. "But those parents did not understand what they were supposed to be doing with their children before they entered school. They thought that education began in the schools. They also expected that their children were only going to go to the 7th grade, because they had only gone to the 7th grade. So there was this great sense of hopelessness and despair that I wanted to change. And the only way you can change this is by treating people with dignity and respect and reaching their heart and their soul.

"At Avance, we provide transportation, child care, so

that the parents can learn skills in child growth and development in a holistic manner," Rodriguez said. "We work not only with the mothers, but also with the fathers. Our program costs about $3,000 per family, and we've served more than 60,000 individuals. Our research shows that 60 percent of the participants are experiencing depressive symptoms. They are single, on welfare, 7th- to 9th-grade education. More than 50 percent were victims of child abuse and neglect. We know from research that these parents are likely to abuse their children. The cycle continues unless they know an alternative way. We talk about the physical needs, child-proofing the home, the emotional needs, the cognitive needs.

"Parents come to a center-based program once a week for three hours for nine months," she continued. "And we go into their homes and visit once a month. Each week, the first hour in the center-based program is devoted to lessons in child growth and development. We have a bilingual curriculum that teaches parents the importance of loving and demonstrating love to their children, but also effective discipline techniques: how to acknowledge what values they want to impart and how to shape the behavior so that the children can learn those values.

"During the second hour the parents make educational toys," Rodriguez said. "That's to emphasize that the parent is the first teacher of the child. We help them acquire the skills to become that teacher. Through making 30 different toys and learning strategies for teaching, the parents can generalize the skills of teaching to their children.

"During the third hour, we analyze the videotapes that are made during the home visits of the parent and child playing with a toy that they made—they are critiqued by a group of about 12 to 15 parents," she said. "We also have outside speakers who come in to reinforce our curriculum and to talk about health, mental health, social services, that the families could be referred to."

She added, "And we make sure that every child gets immunized. In our child care center, we have a developmental screening: the children's development is charted, and we assist them where they need assistance.

"All of these things happen in our core program," Rodriguez said. "We feel that this is where we touch their hearts and tell them things can be different—you don't have to accept the conditions that exist. The hook is that child—the love they have for that child under the age of three. We treat them with dignity and respect, knowing that they want the best for their children. We teach them what needs to be done during these critical formative years.

"Once we've established that rapport, that trust—once that social support network of neighbor helping neighbor is established—they continue to grow," she said. "There's a path for the parents, and there's a path for the child. In the second phase of Avance, when children leave our child care center, we connect them to Head Start or a similar program. In every area Avance serves, Avance children are given first priority in the Head Start program. So, as children leave the zero- to three-year-old program, they go to Head Start, which is the four- to five-year-old program.

"The third program component connects the children with all the available resources in the community," Rodriguez continued. "If we want them to say no to drugs, to teen pregnancy, to other things, then what do we want them to say yes to? This is where we work with a community. We bring in services that are out there—or if they're not there, we create them. We have Boy Scout and Girl Scout troops, recreation, tutoring. We work with a private sector program in mentoring, as well as continuing the parent education component so that the parent can learn new skills for communicating with an older child.

"Ultimately, the Avance baby understands that when he or she reaches 18 or graduates from high school, there is a scholarship waiting," she said. "Most of them qualify for assistance; they just don't know how to access the system. So we help them. But if their parents do not qualify, we have some funds from the private sector to pay for scholarships.

"That's the path for the children," Rodriguez said. "For the parents, there is parent education—learning how to be the best parent they can be. We have programs for husbands and wives, on how they can communicate and keep their family intact, on how to build and strengthen their marriage, and we have programs to help each of the parents develop personally.

"We tell community organizations that we have motivated individuals who are ready for their services—English classes, GED classes, college classes, job training," she said. "We tell them, 'You come with your books, and we will provide the child care, the transportation and the motivated parents.'

"The next phase is job placement for the parents," Rodriguez continued. "We have a good working relationship

with the business sector, where many of our parents are placed in various types of jobs.

"Lastly, and the most exciting phase for me because I think this is the ultimate goal of Avance, is the empowerment of the parent through leadership development," she said. "This is where the parents take control of their community. This is when they start a crime watch program. There were a thousand children in a housing project and not one swing, the parents organized and built a community playground. In the Rio Grande Valley, there were no pipes coming in for water. The parents organized, went to the commissioners, and they got water. I have seen the power of parents once they get empowered and organized."

Rodriguez said, "That is our comprehensive model. It begins in the home, it's community based, it's comprehensive, it's continuous, and it's preventive in nature."

Making a Difference in Junior High and High Schools

Early education and elementary school programs are clearly critical to preventing violence, but what kinds of programs work to prevent violence once kids enter junior high and high school—and adolescence? William Modzeleski, director of the federal government's Safe and Drug Free Schools program, introduced the topic by giving an overview of what's going on in America's schools today.

Modzeleski began, "First of all, the school system is growing, and it's growing relatively quickly. This past school year, there were approximately 44.1 million kids in schools around the country. That's 18.7 million in grades 7 through 12, 24.7 million in pre-K through 6, and about .7 million in ungraded glasses. There are 2.6 million teachers in K through 12, and the average ratio is 17.3 students per teacher. It's highest in the state of Utah, with 24.3 students per teacher, and lowest in Washington, D.C., with about 13.2 students per teacher."

He continued, "There are almost 16,000 independent school systems in the United States. I think that's an important point; it's one that we often overlook. It's not only the number that's important, but the term *independent*, because we really do operate independent school systems in this country. The federal Department of Education has very little control over what goes on in schools. So, as we talk about research and about converting research to knowledge, there's actually very little we can say to a school system in the way of, 'You must do this. You have to do that.' These are independent school systems, operated and controlled primarily by locally elected school boards, except in Virginia, where we're just beginning to elect school boards.

"There are more than 100,000 schools in the United States," Modzeleski noted. "It has been estimated that as an investment in physical structures, this is about a $3-trillion investment. These range from school buildings that hold anywhere from 10 to 20 kids to schools that hold up to 4,000 kids. In fact, when we begin to talk about programs, you should understand that there are many schools in this country that hold up to 4,000 kids. That's a lot of kids to control when we're talking about violence prevention, drug prevention. That's a lot of programming."

He added, "Many urban school systems have a growing number of kids. In New York City alone last year, 50,000 new kids came into the school system. I'm focusing on urban school systems, but I also want to stress as we begin to design programs that we have to recognize that a lot of what's going on in urban school systems is also happening in suburban school systems. We are now seeing kids who speak one of anywhere from 50 to 80 different languages and dialects; for many of them, English is a second language. So as we begin to design programs, we have to clearly keep in mind that we are truly in a multicultural society.

"No more than a handful of states require collection of any uniform data regarding crime, and in the handful that do, it's a mishmash," he noted. "As we begin to measure what's going on in schools and in states, keep in mind that there is no overall provision requiring the collection of data. If we move down to the school district level, few schools collect accurate data on incidents that occur in school; it is exceedingly difficult to get accurate information about what is going on in a school. However, regardless of what is coming out in the survey data, as we talk to superintendents, to school boards, to parents and kids, there is either a reality or a perception that crime and violence are increasing in most school districts across the country.

"I think, however, that in many school districts, regardless of whether crime and violence are growing, the much larger problem the schools have to contend with is disruptive kids, disorderly kids, and those kids who know how to walk the borderline between criminal behavior and non-criminal behavior but still disrupt study and learning for other kids in the school," Modzeleski said.

He continued, "Ninety-seven percent of all school dis-

tricts in the United States receive federal assistance for drug prevention and violence prevention programs. Ninety-seven percent! That is, almost every school system receives some money, so there are some things they can do. Policing of schools is really a hodgepodge of designs, practices, and strategies. Wes Mitchell, who's the chief of the Los Angeles Unified School District Police Department, is with us, and he'll talk about what is going on in Los Angeles. I want you to know, however, that Los Angeles is at one end of the spectrum and that there are many, many school districts that are the complete opposite. It's really a hodgepodge.

"Few schools, few states, few systems really have the expertise or even the inclination to conduct long-term evaluation of what's going on," Modzeleski noted. "Few also have the inclination to transform research into really practical program designs. And few schools are openly sharing what actually goes on in schools with the public. I think that one of the problems is that principals and school officials don't have any real reason to open up and share with the public, because bad news is not good for public education. I think we need to turn that around; I think all of this has led to many misperceptions regarding school crime and violence."

Violence Prevention for 11- to 18-Year-Olds

Modzeleski drew a daunting picture. Are there, somewhere in those 100,000 schools, programs that work to prevent violence? Denise Gottfredson, a professor in the University of Maryland's department of Criminology and Criminal Justice, has surveyed the field of secondary school programs. She currently is completing a five-year collaboration with educators in South Carolina aimed at reducing adolescent delinquent behaviors, including drug use. She is also working with drug prevention personnel in Maryland to develop, strengthen, and evaluate substance abuse prevention programs. On the strength of her research and experience, Gottfredson spoke to conferees about promising violence strategies for adolescents.

"I feel compelled to begin with a warning," she said. "It would be misleading to suggest that we have an arsenal of prevention tools ready to be put into service in the fight against violence, especially for 11- to 18-year-olds. Taken as a whole, the literature on delinquency prevention suggests that prevention programs usually have a small positive effect on delinquent behavior, somewhat larger effects on predictors of delinquent behavior, and that the effects are largest for programs targeting younger populations for longer durations and for programs that target more than one risk factor. This suggests that whatever is done to prevent violence for middle- and high-school-age youth must be started early, and it must be applied continually throughout childhood and adolescence.

"These warnings aside, a number of strategies for 11- to 18-year-olds have been shown to have promise as components of an effective violence prevention program," Gottfredson continued. "The most promising prevention practices are those targeted directly at causes of delinquent behavior.

"Basic research gives evidence that low self control, poor family management practices, and certain features of the environment are causal factors of delinquent behavior," she noted. "Let me start with low self control. Several studies have demonstrated that individuals who possess a constellation of characteristics that might be called low self control—including defiance, poor impulse control, and aggression—are at greater risk for later problem behaviors, including delinquency. Low self control translates into poor social competency skills, and several models aimed at increasing social competency have been tested. Social competency promotion programs generally teach children how to solve problems of an interpersonal nature. They focus on increasing self confidence and the ability to solve problems; recognizing when problems exist; identifying the feelings that accompany problems; understanding the perspectives of others; assessing the alternative solutions available and the likely consequences of each; choosing the best solution and enacting it; and self monitoring and self adjusting. Different programs emphasize different segments of this process.

"Evaluations of the effectiveness of these programs generally suggest that children can acquire social competency skills but that the application of these skills is not always generalized to other settings and other behaviors," Gottfredson pointed out. "However, several studies have demonstrated a positive effect of school-based social competency development programs on delinquent behavior. I'll focus today on the work of Robert Weissberg and his colleagues.

"At least two studies have been published testing the effects of Weissberg's social problem solving program with a

general student population in grades 5 through 8 in inner-city and suburban schools," she said. "The program, which lasts somewhere between 16 and 20 sessions, is aimed at stress management, self esteem, problem solving, substance and health information, assertiveness, and social networks.

"Weissberg and his colleagues provide extensive training to teachers—12 to 15 hours and extensive on-site assistance," Gottfredson added. "They also provide regular on-site consultations to the teachers for the duration of the project.

"Both studies found that students in the program improved in problem solving skills relative to students in the control classrooms," she pointed out. "Teachers rated participating students as improving their ability to resolve conflicts with peers and their impulse control. Student reports of either excessive drinking or some minor form of delinquency such as stealing or starting fights also declined significantly. And the program appeared equally effective for students in inner-city and suburban schools.

"Studies of this and other programs do not provide evidence that social competency promotion programs are effective for reducing violent behavior per se," Gottfredson cautioned. "Yet positive findings on different forms of aggressive behavior are impressive. More research is needed to determine the longer-term effects of these programs, whether the results extend to violent behavior, and whether the results are generalizable to real world situations."

Gottfredson turned to family functioning. "Research consistently shows that parenting practices and family interactions are associated with delinquent behavior," she noted. "The important elements of family management include: lax, neglectful, erratic, inconsistent, overly harsh, or punitive discipline practices; interactions that emphasize coldness and rejection; lack of involvement with the child; passivity and neglect; lack of shared leisure time; and low parental awareness of the child's peer associates, free time activities, and physical whereabouts.

"The evidence," she said, "suggests that programs that teach parents to use consistent but not harsh discipline, interact positively with the child, and supervise the child are effective for reducing children's problem behavior."

Gottfredson went on to describe a number of programs that have been shown to help families function better and teenagers behave better. Many of them have proved to have not only immediate but long-term positive effects. She did caution, however, that in some cases there was an "accentuation of negative behavior resulting from grouping high-risk youths." She added, "The negative effects of grouping young people displaying problem behavior together suggest that it's best to avoid forming such groups as part of any intervention."

Features of the school environment also promote or inhibit delinquent behavior, according to Gottfredson. Though schools in urban, poor, disorganized communities experience much more violence and other forms of disorder than other schools, Gottfredson pointed out that it is not just the larger community, but the environment within the school itself that sets the stage for disorderly behavior.

"Schools experiencing the highest levels of student and teacher victimization are those characterized by teachers with punitive attitudes; rules that are not perceived as fair and clear and are not firmly enforced; ambiguous responses to student misbehavior; disagreement among teachers and administrators about the rules and appropriate response to misbehavior; students with low levels of belief in conventional social rules; and a lack of resources needed for teaching," she said.

"Can these environmental characteristics of schools be manipulated, and does manipulation result in a reduction in violence?" Gottfredson asked.

"Attempts to alter aspects of the school environment have meet with some success," she noted. "One impressive line of research to limit conflict in schools has been conducted in Norway by Dan Olweus. He noted that certain adolescents called 'bullies' repeatedly victimized other adolescents. Although the victims were known to be targets of harassment, the problem was largely ignored by adults, who failed to intervene actively and thus provided a tacit acceptance of the bullying.

"A campaign to alter environmental norms regarding bullying was conducted," Gottfredson continued. "A booklet defining the problem and spelling out ways to counteract it was directed to school personnel. Parents were sent a booklet of advice. A video illustrating the problem was made available, and surveys were conducted in each school to collect information on the level of the problem. The information from the surveys was fed back to school personnel. Among the recommended strategies to reduce bullying were: Establishing clear class rules against bullying; contingent

responses—that is, praise and sanctions; regular class meetings to clarify norms against bullying; improved supervision of the playground; and teacher involvement in the development of a positive school climate.

"The results indicated that bullying decreased by 50 percent over a two-year course," she noted. "Olweus attributed the success of the program to its school-wide approach, its direct focus on establishing school-wide norms against specific behaviors, and to the definition of the problem as a bully/victim problem—this served to focus attention on the victim, thus developing sympathy for the victim and avoiding labeling the bullies as 'deviant.' The program specifically did not attempt to teach aggressors new skills for controlling their own behaviors."

Gottfredson went on, "My own work consists of a series of field experiments to try and manipulate features of the school environment to reduce delinquency. The first trial, project PATHE, altered the organization and management structures in seven secondary schools between 1981 and 1983. The broad-based changes included efforts to increase staff and student participation in planning for and implementing school improvement efforts; changes in the discipline and management of the school aimed at increasing clarity and consistency of rule enforcement; and enhancing the school program with activities designed to increased students' success experiences and feelings of belonging."

She noted, "The evaluation of the project showed that the students in the participating high schools reported significantly less delinquent behavior and drug use, had fewer suspensions, missed less school, had fewer punishment experiences in school, a more positive self image, and less sense of alienation. Students in the comparison high schools didn't change significantly in any of those outcomes."

Since then, Gottfredson has implemented similar programs in Baltimore and Charleston (S.C.). She said, "The research on environmental change in schools taken together provides modest support for the efficacy of reducing problem behavior through changes in the organization and management of the school environment. Compared to strategies requiring highly trained providers and delivery of services to individuals or small groups of individuals, school-based environmental efforts seem cost effective.

"So far I've suggested that efforts aimed at increasing socially competent behaviors, improving family functioning, and altering school environments should reduce violence," she pointed out. "One cannot help fantasizing about the promise offered by combining these potentially effective elements into a single 'super program'—based on sound theory and research, providing multi-modal treatment and prevention services that target multi-causal factors. Schools of course would provide an ideal setting for such an effort because they have access to students for long periods of time and they can manipulate instructional and curricular offerings. With some imagination, schools can also provide a location for prevention efforts targeting family management practices."

The Role of Law Enforcement in Schools

Modzeleski then introduced Wesley Mitchell as "one of the most progressive chiefs we have in school security in this country. Wes is a risk taker, and Wes is somebody I know, I admire, and look to for answers on what's going on in school."

Mitchell began by saying, "I see my role here as representing the practitioner of the research in the school environment. I am a educational law enforcement executive; my entire career has been based on educational law enforcement. I run a police department of 289 state-certified police officers whose focus is the school system. We exclusively dedicate ourselves to the protection of students while engaged in educational activities, both regular and co-curricular, as well as the protection of staff while delivering the services and the resources of the school district. We do that in partnership with the Los Angeles Police Department, and we in no way attempt to supplant their services or resources. We believe that represents a beautiful partnership. We have grown tremendously in the 26 years that I have been in the business.

"I'd like to talk about a couple of things," he continued. "First, zero tolerance is sweeping America, and I tend to believe it got its birth in California. It didn't take California long to realize that zero tolerance was very short-sighted, that the concept of ejecting a youngster from the system to the street did not serve either the school system or the community very well. Last year, Los Angeles, with the assistance of a state assemblywoman, was able to pass legislation that in the minds of some reverses zero tolerance. No longer in California are you able to expel children to the street; rather you can expel them from the school or the system, but you must provide them with a child-specific, six-hour, supervised instructional program for the period of time that they

are out of the system. This is changing to a great extent the paradigm with regard to how we deal with our most seriously acting out youngsters. This approach is by all stretches of the imagination an expensive proposition because it's in the most caring of environments that we hope it will occur; our conservative-moderate governor in his wisdom made available $1,500 per student to assist in providing some of the therapeutic resources that will be necessary in this model. The program is evolving in terms of what these sites will look like, but it's a far better situation, I believe, for these young people than the streets they were being exited to.

"One final qualifier on zero tolerance," Mitchell added. "What we also discovered is that the kids that were being exited weren't the monsters that society thought would be kicked to the street, but rather some of our best and our brightest, who were carrying weapons for fear of what they were going to encounter as they walked through the gauntlet to get to school. Before they committed the violation of carrying a weapon to school they had almost spotless records with regard to discipline and almost spotless records with regard to criminal violations. So there is some contradiction in the concept that zero tolerance is going to create safer schools and safer communities.

"Let me go from there to talk about the concept of safe schools," he said. "First, let me assure you that in spite of what the media may project and what some of you may think as you pass by public schools, public schools still represent the safest institutions in our communities for our children. In crimes against persons, which we consider the crimes that create the greatest fear with regard to safety, Los Angeles unified high schools average about 4.5 incidents per 1,000 students, while in the communities surrounding our schools the rate is about 75 per 1,000.

"If you could change the violence rate in Los Angeles to 4.5 per 1,000, it would be paradise," Mitchell declared. "I will qualify this, however, by adding that one incident of violence in the school is intolerable and has a far greater residual impact on the community than a similar incident would have in the community surrounding the school. Thus there is reason to be concerned about the 4.5. I don't want to diminish the importance of that.

"I also want to talk very briefly about the concept of addressing youth violence in the isolation of the school rather than the totality of the community," he said. "It is unrealistic to think that because we serve children that we're overwhelmingly empowered to change the social development of children. They spend six hours a day and a maximum of 30 hours a week with us. They leave into an environment where the overwhelming majority of individuals they will have contact with have no understanding of the rules and the lessons they learned in the schoolhouse. In fact, in Los Angeles, less than 20 percent of the households have children who are attending public schools. That means the student goes back into a community where 80 percent of the people have no concept of the values that are being taught in the schools—or of conflict resolution concepts. I'm amazed that we teach conflict resolution in elementary classrooms and expect these youngsters to employ those skills on the street corner where no one they're dealing with knows how they are supposed to respond to this message. And there is no conflict resolution, by the way, for drive-by shootings. I believe we tend to shortchange our youngsters when we tell them what we are giving them will make them safe.

"I want to see community-oriented government bring everybody to the table at the same time, with the talents and skills, the resources and the charges of their agencies coordinated in order to address the issues of safety, of fear in a community," Mitchell said.

"Schools don't do community policing best; schools do education best," he noted. "Schools build upon the cognitive side of the youngster best. Schools are capable of doing parent training far better than police officers are—even though police agencies are more and more getting into the parent training mode.

"I can see schools complementing what police do, complementing what probation does, complementing what mental health does, and I see all of these coming to the table to deal with a community model," Mitchell said.

"I want to point to what I think is the ideal community model," he continued. "I think to a great extent we have as agency people attempted to make the community friendly to the agency and the agency's ability to deliver services. I think instead the agency has to become friendly toward the community. So, rather than bringing the community to the agency to receive services, I advocate taking the agency to the community. While I'm not real sure about rural communities and to some extent suburban communities, I do know that there is one governmental institution that is

designed to be accessible in a friendly manner to families, and that's the elementary school—not the high school. Elementary schools are within walking distance of most households, and so if we can begin to base the delivery of services from the elementary school then we can make those services more readily accessible. We will have minimized some of the reasons for parents buying out of the services.

"I also want to talk about creating new visions of communities," Mitchell said. "We have school communities that are based upon high school complexes. A high school complex is essentially the high school, its feeder middle school, and its feeder elementary schools. These are young people who matriculate together anywhere from 12 to 14 years. And if we can begin to develop social norms from K through 12 for those youngsters throughout their community—social standards and educational expectations, behavioral standards and consequences that are believed in and realized in that community—we begin to create a fabric, a social forum, for a very, very large community that eventually carries back into the schoolhouse. That's what we're talking about—not what's in the schoolhouse going out into the community, but what's coming from the community into the schoolhouse.

"I am a believer in creating bridges over obstacles as opposed to waddling away when something doesn't work that was well intended," he noted. "Transiency is high in urban areas. Superintendents come and go, boards of education come and go, and students come and go. All of these issues must be factored in and considered when you're developing a program. Teachers who aren't committed to students exist in schools around our nation. Students will talk about the good teachers they had and the poor teachers they had. And they will say to you that the poor teachers outnumber the good teachers. The number of caring teachers was minuscule compared to the teachers who seemed to have no feeling of real care.

"I suspect, however, that this is not a measure of the individual childcare professional's heart," Mitchell said. "Rather, it's a response to a system that is far too understaffed and far too short of resources to allow teachers who come into the system well intended to deliver on their beliefs with regard to serving children.

"Again, there is all the reason in the world to organize all of the resources in the community in one single lock-stop motion," he reiterated. "Two weeks ago I was in San Diego as the guest of the Department of Justice at a conference on creating community-oriented policing for youth, which is an attempt to address the anticipated surge in youth violence around the year 2000. It was a multi-disciplinary group, and as we began to survey all of the resources and the programs in the community that have as their charge the service of children, we were overwhelmed. And then as we began to talk about the duplication in services, it was awesome in terms of the waste of public dollars as well as foundation dollars. Finally, as we began to discuss how few of these programs had been assessed for effectiveness and been continually re-funded, it was embarrassing.

"Yes the resources are there," Mitchell declared. "Are they effective? For sure, some are. For sure, some aren't. Are there ways in which we can take those that aren't and re-create them to better serve our communities? I believe we can."

Three Popular Proposals: Uniforms, Zero Tolerance of Guns, and After-School Programs

Bill Modzeleski opened the discussion that followed these presentations by saying, "One of the things we find in the government policy arena is pressure from the public, especially when it comes to school violence, to do something—to do *any*thing—just to show that we are doing something in the area of preventing violence and creating safe and orderly schools. There is also the pressure, which many of you here feel, not just to do something, but to do it right—to make sure it is effective. And it's not always about money. Many changes require additional resources, but some changes can be made with few dollars or few resources.

"Two changes—one that requires few additional resources and one that requires a moderate amount of additional resources have been tried in the past year," he continued. "One is zero tolerance and the other is uniforms. Long Beach School District, just up the road a bit from where you are, Wesley, has the entire school district now in uniform. What about zero tolerance and uniforms?

Wesley Mitchell responded: "I was asked to provide some data on uniforms at a conference two weeks ago. We currently have two middle schools that are in full uniform standard. In fact, the crime data are very positive. We found that one year subsequent to going full uniform, these schools showed violence against persons dropping anywhere from 22 to 39 percent.

"Let me tell you two things that I think happened here," he continued. "It's not about the competition to be cute; it's about not the Air Jordans. It's about having one steady standard for behavior and parameters for conduct.

"It's also about the elimination of fear," Mitchell added. "I would imagine you know that a young person dressed in a certain fashion automatically instills fear or at least creates a sign of caution in your mind, while a young person dressed in a different fashion gives you a sense of security about the youngster's values."

However, he cautioned that dress can give a false impression, recalling that gang members in Los Angeles had "jumped out of gang clothes and jumped into preppie clothes, and, all of a sudden, the gangsters were walking past you and you felt real secure, and the young kids who were excelling in school had gone to the baggy pants and the gang dress style, and they were intimidating America." Nonetheless, Mitchell averred, "The uniform has eliminated a great deal of fear among students, which I think computes to a lesser need to react in a violent manner to one another."

Denise Gottfredson said, "I have come to have a great deal of respect for the opinions of parents and teachers—people who are working day-to-day with students. At first, the uniform idea seemed strange and crazy to me; I really couldn't connect it to any of our academic theories about crime. But I'm convinced by listening to parents and teachers that uniforms will reduce stress and anxiety, and I think they should be tried—and evaluated, too."

"Our opinion was exactly like yours," Modzeleski commented, adding, "After talking to countless parents, police officers such as Wesley, and to school districts, we came to the conclusion that while the use of uniforms has not been evaluated—it is not research based—we don't want to lose the opportunity to go into some of these promising practices. I think there has to be some discussion about how we can jump ahead with something that has not been evaluated rather than waiting five years and missing the opportunity.

"As to zero tolerance, two weeks ago we had about 25 of Wesley's colleagues from other urban school districts in the United States brought together in Washington to discuss what is going on in urban schools from the perspective of police chiefs," he continued. "Uniformly, the feeling was that zero tolerance was driving guns out of schools. Now, it wasn't reducing the overall level of guns. It wasn't necessarily reducing the number of kids carrying guns, but they felt that at least the number of guns being found coming into most school districts was going down because of the zero tolerance policies. However, none of them believed that kids were giving their guns to buy-back programs; they were either dropping them outside the school or leaving them in cars in the parking lots. Fewer guns may be coming to school, but there are just as many guns out on the street."

Wesley Mitchell spoke up: "No question, zero tolerance has shown a reduction in the number of arrests that we're making of young people with guns. But when you exit the young person from the system with nowhere to go, he doesn't leave the community. So if the young person who had the gun inside the school today is exited and lives across the street from the school, he's now sitting on his front porch with the gun with no respect for or fear of your authority. Therefore, you have lost all control over him.

"What we are advocating is clearly removing him from the immediate environment, but we're also advocating taking a look at the issues that made that youngster feel he had to bring a gun. And if there is a need for therapeutic interventions, let's provide them. If there are needs for punishments, let's provide them, but let's not leave the youngster unattended and unsupervised on the street to victimize the youngster who is now inside the schoolhouse—to intimidate the teacher who is driving into the schoolyard," he concluded.

Gregory Hodge, executive director of the Urban Strategies Council in Oakland, California, began his comments by noting that the Oakland Unified School District adopted uniforms last year and that anecdotal evidence indicates they are a success. "The second point I want to make is that the policy around zero tolerance may be unevenly implemented within school districts," he said. "Two years ago, we did a report on suspensions policy in the Oakland Unified School District, and we really saw a disparity between how children were being handled by teachers. If we're going to give more power to classroom teachers, let's look for a moment at how suspensions are done. One of the things we found is that in the 86 schools in our district, there's a very uneven policy—very ill-defined reasons for suspensions. Sixty percent of the students were being put out of the school for 'defiance of authority.' That meant anything from slamming your book down on the desk too hard, to cursing the teacher out, to talking with your hands—a whole lot of things.

The predictable part of it was that—and you know what I'm going to say—the disproportionate impact was on African-American males at the junior high school level.

"One of the things that we found out, and I agree with Wes on this point, is that putting kids out of school is not a solution," Hodge continued. "Just like putting bad teachers out of school is not a solution, because in our district a bad teacher goes from one school to another school.

"We also found out that young people want to be at school. You put them out of school— but guess where they end up? They hang out on the playground. They come in the hallways. So you have to have some other alternative for them that really deals with their individual needs, and a lot of the policy as it was being implemented was again very uneven. One school may have had a pretty progressive policy—a room where that student is going to sit with one counselor and work with an individual teacher one-on-one—but many other schools had no sort of 'plan B' for that child. So I hope that as we think about zero tolerance and other aspects of suspension policy that we consider the problem of having individual teachers and principals making decisions about what defiance of authority means, and that, clearly, racism is a factor in how those decisions are being made."

Rick Rosenfeld, of the department of Criminology and Criminal Justice at the University of Missouri at St. Louis, spoke up. "I want to pick up on the theme that schools may be, given the alternatives, one of the safest places around. Public elementary schools in particular, I would argue, still enjoy a certain kind of community support and therefore contain a certain kind of social capital that other community institutions don't.

"Ought we not begin thinking about making communities more like their safest institution, the schools?" he asked. "What can we do in the broader communities to make them more school-like?"

Rosenfeld also noted that James Fox's recent report to the Attorney General (*Trends in Juvenile Violence, U.S. Department of Justice*, March 1996) shows that juvenile misconduct spikes between 3 and 6 in the afternoon. Might this suggest that after-school programs could be valuable in reducing youth violence?

"Schools tend to be very safe places, compared to the alternatives in inner-city communities in particular," he pointed out. "Children tend to identify their schools as safe places. They run there—literally, in many cases in St. Louis—to get inside the walls of the school. Do we know anything about whether the presence of children for longer periods of time in school reduces the victimization and offending behavior of children? In other words, do after-school programs have value added with respect to the safety of children?"

Denise Gottfredson responded, "There isn't a big literature on after-school programs. There's literature suggesting that certain elements—for example, social competency promotion programs—can easily be put into an after-school program. And there's evidence showing that the greater the number of hours unsupervised after school, the more drug use, the more delinquency. So there's certainly every reason in the world to believe that after-school programs are a good idea and that they could be crafted in such a way that they would probably have at least a moderate effect on violent behavior."

Peter Edelman added, "I think it's correct that we don't yet have any evaluation literature, but I think that people who work in those programs certainly can cite a very, very strong subjective view that there are cases of success. If you look at the Beacon Schools in New York City, there are a number of successes. To say that this is an after-school program is really to understate what it is, because it's a community-building program. My view is that the framework and the strategy are about building communities. We need to be thinking not about just preventing violence, but what it is in a neighborhood and a larger community that will reduce violence from all perspectives."

Del Elliott noted that the University of Colorado's Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence had commissioned an evaluation of the evidence about the effectiveness of after-school programs as an antidote to violence. He said, "A lot of it's not rigorous in the way we would like to have it, but there is at least an emerging body of evidence that suggests these programs are in fact having some impact upon violence."

Dave Hawkins had more evidence to offer. He described a project in Canada in which there was a 75-percent decrease in crime and juvenile arrest in a housing project where there were after-school programs and a 67-percent increase in crime in a housing project where there were none.

"After school is when juvenile crime occurs," he noted. "So if we can do positive things to teach young people skills and get them involved in positive ways in their community, whether it's in the school itself or in a community after-school recreation program, there is at least some evidence that this will make a difference."

Peter Greenwood raised a caveat: "I sense tremendous resistance within the system to the schools' taking on other programs. Personnel feel the school is doing a good job in what it's doing, and they don't want to get diluted with parent training and bilingual education and orienting immigrants and all this other kind of stuff that people want to bring in."

Bill Modzeleski said, "The school needs to understand that all you're asking for is the building. Maybe you've got to deal with the custodians, but as far as the rest of it is concerned, the teachers can go home. It's a non-profit organization that ought to be in there running that operation after 3 p.m., and I don't know why school people can't get with that idea."

Velma Pryce spoke up, "You know, we've been on target in the New Orleans public school system. We've been having uniforms in the elementary schools and the high schools in New Orleans public schools for quite a while; my school is a uniformed school. In New Orleans you have the second largest Catholic parochial school system in the United States, and they are in uniform, so it wasn't something that we had to fight—they knew what uniforms were. One of the things we adopted in New Orleans was that the public elementary schools would have a blue-and-white uniform, so now all we have to do is put on this logo and pull off that logo as the child and the parent move from one area to another.

"It does make a difference in safety, because we can identify everybody who hits that school," she added. "We have the research to back that up about New Orleans public schools."

Recalling resistance she had met with over before- and after-school programs at her school, she noted, "When I had a problem with the custodians, I said to them, 'This is not your building. This is a public building; the building belongs to the public. And it's a public school. Therefore, we will have any program that this community wants in this school.' I said, 'You don't have any choice.'"

Wesley Mitchell elaborated on the issue of resistance on the part of school personnel: "We implemented after-school programs at the elementary level not to create less violent children, but to create safer children, and we organized them in a manner that enhanced academic performance, provided some health services, as well as recreation. Yes, there was resistance in the minds of some initially, and I believe that we need to start thinking about models that bring all of the parties into the planning stage. When we brought the teachers in, they were saying, 'Who's being paid to do the tutoring?' We responded, 'Well, how about you teachers coming in an hour or so after your work day and being paid to tutor?' No question about access to the teacher's classroom now. There are solutions to these problems that we've continually gone up against if we begin to talk to those who are, if you will, the barriers. But I clearly believe that when we reduce the opportunity for violence, we reduce violence among youths."

Christy Visher, from the National Institute of Justice, suggested that school principals should be taking the leadership on after-school programs. She asked Bill Modzeleski, "Is there anything the Department of Education can do to provide these programs or training for principals to take back to their individual schools?"

"Yes, I think there is," Modzeleski replied. "I think, however, that we're not doing a good job in pinpointing where we want to take some action. We're not setting priorities. We're not targeting. We're not focusing, and with 16,000 school districts, 100,000 different school buildings, we're all over the place. I think we've got to recognize that this is a really complex problem and there are no simple solutions.

"The other part of it is that teachers and principals are burdened with so many things," he added. "Schools are set up to educate our kids. While we feel very seriously that you can't teach kids in an environment where there is alcohol or drugs or the threat of violence, the first and foremost thing that schools must do is educate. There are still many educators out there who see that what they are being held accountable for is increases in grades and scores. They are not going to be interested in some of these issues until we convince them."

Wesley Mitchell brought up another point: "Not today, but in the future, school reform may change the model of who's in charge of the school. In Los Angeles, increasingly it's not the principals who have leadership, it's the teachers who are leading the schools. A principal can have the will, but

unless you're charismatic, you can have a union leader on a Los Angeles campus who can totally undermine all of the best programs of the principal. So organizational designs are changing in terms of the school system itself."

Stanford's Caroline Schooler noted, "We're working with a large group of schools in California, and we've also seen there can be a lot of resistance; schools can be very closed systems. But one of the things we've seen as well is that there are so many different community-based agencies that want to get into school. I think principals or superintendents think they have to build these walls because everybody wants to get at the kids. I've heard so many schools say, 'No, we can't let that program in. They did not come to us before they wrote the grant.'

"Folks acquire money and then they go to the schools and they expect entree, and I think that maybe those of us who work with community-based organizations need to take a little time and train folks to do some coalition building so that the schools are at the table from day one," she continued. "We're seeing a model work really well in northern California, where there are different agencies located in a portable building on the school site that was donated by Burger King. The school has some control about access, but all these folks are in one place, and the kids can go back and forth. That's a really nice model, where everybody's working together and there's not redundancy and duplication.

"So, sometimes schools are closed systems," Schooler concluded, "but sometimes they're also inundated and not included from the beginning."

Police-Based Programs

Philip Heymann introduced a panel on police-based programs by saying, "I particularly wanted this panel here because they're not developmental. These programs are not addressed to caring about children or taking care of children. They're addressing the question of violence, and danger, and fear on the streets."

New York City

The first speaker, William Bratton, Heymann noted, "took over as commissioner of the New York City Police at a time when things were slowly improving in New York. He put into effect a set of dramatic changes—some managerial, some operational. Over the next two or three years, there was a gigantic drop in homicides and probably in all violent crimes in New York. The rate in the rest of the country was dropping at the same time, but in New York, along with one or two other cities, it has been dropping faster than anywhere else, at a rate that both commands attention and demands explanation."

Said Bratton, "In the early 1980s, I was working as a police lieutenant in Boston, implementing a neighborhood policing program. The program I was implementing was in one of the toughest neighborhoods of Boston, and I was amazed, going to community meetings four nights a week in an area where murders, rapes, and robberies were commonplace, that what I would frequently hear about would be what we have come to know as quality of life issues.

"It was a lesson that I took very much to heart," he continued. "In the chances I had as a police chief over the ensuing 15 years, I sought to apply what I had learned there.

"I really believe that with the major decline in crime and the improved sense of safety in the streets of New York in such a short period of time, 24 months, something did in fact happen that was significant," Bratton said. "That experience follows on an experience with the transit police, where subway crime is now down 75 percent from what it was in 1990, when it was going up at the rate of 25 percent a year over the preceding three years. The significance of both of those experiences was that we focused on not only trying to deal with serious crime itself but on the quality of life issue. The quality of life issue in transit was fare evasion and disorder. We focused on behavior, not condition. We focused not on the homeless per se, but on the behavior of many who were classified as homeless."

He went on, "Similarly, in New York City, upon my appointment in 1994, I was asked by the mayor not only to focus on crime but also to focus on what he had come to believe was a significant cause of crime in New York City—the quality of life offenses. The behavior of people—white, black, hispanic, rich, and poor—behavior that had deteriorated badly. Rather than trying to improve the behavior, rather than trying to correct the behavior, excuses were made for it, and, generally, the behavior declined.

"What we did in New York," Bratton said, "was to reverse what I believe was the growing sentiment over the last 25 years—that police could not be counted upon to make the difference in American cities; that all the societal problems, economic problems, demographic problems, that were thought to cause crime were immune to police action.

"What I came to find in the transit system, and more significantly in New York City itself, and began to shout loud and clear, was that police do count," he said. "Police can reduce crime. We cannot eliminate it. Police can change behavior, and particularly quality of life types of offenses. Little things do lead to big things, and I do really believe that in attacking one crime, we were attacking several at the same time, with the additional intense focus we put on changing behavior in the streets of New York. So that what people saw, what they felt, was indeed a marked change from what they've been experiencing for the last 25 years.

"Even though the city had 400,000 reported crimes in 1994, with 8 million residents, 26 million tourists, and almost 4 million people a day coming in and out of the city, the

chances of being the victim of a serious crime or even witnessing one were somewhat remote," Bratton noted. "However, what you saw every day just reinforced what you read in the papers about serious crimes, no matter where they occurred. So we focused on what people experienced every day.

"Having the police work on situational change while we try to find solutions to the structural problems, the societal problems, can make a difference in terms of raising optimism that these problems are not beyond solution," Bratton declared. "The police can and are willing to be significant partners and activists in resolving these issues. We don't have to be as we were for the last 25 years—a reactive presence in American society. We can be proactive. We can be partners, and, most importantly, we're willing to do that.

"My reason for being here today was to expand my knowledge about what's going on in terms of the structural changes," he concluded, "but also to add my voice to the many chiefs around this country and, increasingly, the criminologists and academics, who are recognizing that by working on the situational, the quality of life, we effectively also work on the optimism level—that these problems are in fact capable of being solved. Maybe not in the short term, but definitely in the long term, and that we are offering a ray of hope."

The Police and the Prevention of Youth Violence

The next presenter, Harvard's Mark Moore, Bratton noted, was well-known to many of the conferees. Moore, Bratton said, "has served as a mentor and a teacher to me for many years and, indeed, a lot of my early thinking was shaped by courses I took with him at the Police Executive Research Forum Senior Management Institute."

Moore began by pointing out that his paper "was written from the point of view of trying to put myself in Bill's and his colleagues' shoes. Suppose I was the 'very model of a modern police commissioner.' I was sitting on top of a police organization, and I was persuaded that there was a youth violence problem out there that needed to be attended to. What promising opportunities would present themselves to me as a police executive trying to find a way to get my organization into the enterprise of helping to prevent youth violence?

He continued, "Because we've all learned that problem solving is an important way to act as a police agency, we'd start with trying to understand what the problem was that we were trying to solve in dealing with youth violence.

"And the first observation we'd make is, the problem is that kids are getting killed, and it's tragic, and we'd like to stop that from happening," he said. "The second aspect of the problem is that the people who are doing the killing and injuring are young themselves. Being young, their motivations and their actions are a little bit ambiguous, and in many respects the offenders look more innocent than adult offenders. Therefore, it's more problematic to figure out what to do with them than with more adult and more persistent criminal offenders. So we've got a problem of victimization and a problem of offending.

"The third thing that we might notice, because we in the police profession are particularly attentive to this these days, is that there is an issue of fear that exists independently of both victimization and offending," Moore said.

"As Bill Bratton pointed out, it was a big surprise in the police community and an important event when we learned that levels of fear existed somewhat independently of levels of criminal victimization—and that there were things we could do as a police organization that could reduce fear without necessarily reducing criminal victimization. That was an interesting and challenging moment for police professionals, who had to decide whether they wanted to introduce a new product line called fear reduction in addition to their old product line, which was called victimization reduction or offender apprehension.

"What I think was less clear was that as we casually ran through the long list of signs of disorder we knew were related to fear—things like broken lights and graffiti and noisy kids gathering on the block—it became kind of automatic," he recalled. "And yet, when you sat back and thought about it, you realized an important fact that we hadn't observed, which was how much of that stuff is caused by kids. And furthermore, how mobile kids are and how ubiquitous they are in this society.

"So that if you thought of kids as agents of fear in some sense, which they have unfortunately become, you could see that they were a very virulent kind of agent in the community at large," Moore pointed out. "I don't mean to make them sound toxic; I'm just using the epidemiological metaphor here to give you a sense of how potent kids might turn out to be in spreading fear if it turned out that we were afraid of things I described."

"The last point—I haven't been able to persuade too many of my colleagues of this, and I don't have any evidence for it, so it's a mere assertion hanging out there in the air—but I believe that part of the problem of youth violence in this country is a kind of heartsickness and despair that comes from being part of a society that would have so abandoned our children that they turn out to be offenders and victims and then get no help from us," he declared. "I think that this is part of what makes us feel ambivalent about the offenders; I think it confuses us a lot in the responses that we make. I think that out there is a sense of a deep demoralization and sadness, which we sometimes cover up with anger and sometimes cover up with a kind of sentimentality—neither of which turns out to be effective in dealing with what is the real problem, which is that we have abandoned our children to the violence that is now consuming them. That's a reality that is shameful and needs to stop.

"These different images of the problem change the focus of a violence prevention effort from the point of the view of the police," Moore said. "We're interested in reducing victimization and reducing offending and reducing fear and in coping with our sense of sadness and despair and injustice—all aspects of the problem.

"Next question: 'What pieces of the problem can I get my hands on as a police executive?'" he asked. "Here I make a foray into some muddy territory, sorting out the way we've thought about causal factors and risk factors for youth violence. I make a gross distinction in my paper between what might be called structural factors, which I take to be relatively large, slow-moving, powerful factors that create either the potential for or determine the overall level of youth violence in the society. I contrast those with factors that I could describe with one of three different words. I haven't quite sorted this out yet, but the three words I've got in mind are situational, contingent, and epidemic.

"If we have powerful, contingent, situational, and epidemic factors as well as powerful structural factors working, it might be that it falls to the police principally to deal with the epidemic, contingent, and situational factors," he said. "But it may turn out also that the police have an important role to play in dealing with some of the important structural factors, principally by the work they do to help other institutions do their jobs well. Whatever the police can do to help families and community and schools and merchants do their work well will help deal with some of the important structural factors.

"That's enough diagnosis," Moore said. "Let's turn to some specific programs the police could focus on. I'll start with epidemic, situational, and contingent factors rather than structural factors."

He began with the idea of interfering with routine behavior. "I tried to imagine what pieces of the routine behavior of adolescents could be interfered with or regulated in a way that would reduce the opportunities for committing violent offenses," he said. "In my paper I discuss curfews and minor offenses and gangs and drug trafficking violence.

"With respect to the minor offenses, let me just describe what is going on here," Moore said. "Thirty years ago, when the President's Crime Commission issued its report on policing, everybody agreed that it would be valuable for the police to get out of the business of enforcing against minor offenses. Two different arguments were made about why it was important to get out of this business.

"One was that it was an inefficient use of resources, because if we were enforcing against minor offenses, presumably we were not enforcing against major offenses, and major offenses were more important than minor offenses," he explained. "Therefore, it was right to get out of the minor-offense business so we'd have more resources to concentrate on major offenses. That's a straight resource allocation, cost-effectiveness kind of calculation.

"The second argument was that it is with disorder offenses such as vagrancy and panhandling that the racial discrimination of the police is most apparent," Moore continued. "And these are also where opportunities for certain kinds of corruption are most obvious. So, in order to protect the police from looking or acting in a discriminatory way and to make sure that they stay focused on serious criminal offenders, let's make sure that they stay out of the minor-offense business. I think the police were quite delighted to take that advice and get out of the minor-offense business, and they did so significantly over the next 20 or 30 years."

He went on, "But what I think Bill has discovered, and I think we're still sorting out the implications of it, is that it looks as though that was a big mistake, at least in terms of cost-effectiveness and controlling crime and enhancing security. There is some important value to be claimed by paying attention to more effective enforcement against minor offenses.

"How can that possibly be true?" Moore asked. "What are the mechanisms that are producing that counterintuitive result? Let me offer three possibilities for you.

"Mechanism one is that it would be good to reduce fear in any case," he said. "Regardless of whether it had any other effects, we might as well concentrate on minor offenses to get fear down.

"Second is the hypothesis that if there's enough disorder around, individuals will feel demoralized, and, feeling demoralized, will fail to do the informal social control that keeps neighborhoods safe," Moore continued. "It's the dispiriting effects of fear that shrink informal social control, which then exposes neighborhoods to increased victimization. Therefore, if we could get rid of the minor offenses and get people to be less afraid, we could restore informal social control and crime would go down.

"The third possibility, which is suggested by Bill's experience with the subways and with the New York City Police Department, is that interfering with minor offenses might actually turn out to stop major offenses from occurring," he said. "How could that happen? There seem to be several possibilities. One is, there could be an incapacitating effect. To take the example of the subways, it may be that if we arrest a fare beater for fare beating we prevent a robber from reaching the platform. That could be one way we got this significant reduction in robbery.

"Or, imagine a minor shoving match starts among kids that hasn't yet escalated to the grievous insult stage," Moore suggested. "If, somehow or other, the police could interfere early enough, they might prevent that situation from escalating to a violent offense. Instead of having a gang killing, they respond to teenagers scuffling on the street, and intervening in that situation prevents a crime from occurring.

"Let me close by noting that the police also play an important role in going after some of the structural and developmental factors, both individual development processes and community development processes," he said. "With respect to individual development processes, it's important to remember how significant the police role might turn out to be in dealing with domestic violence, both in situations where there are children present and also in dealing with abused and neglected children. In both of those cases we would probably like to have a mixed response, from both law enforcement and social services. It's probably also true that we'd like to hold law enforcement in the background of those interventions, but nonetheless figure out how to use law enforcement to stop the violence within families and against children. This I think is one of the most important frontiers in both controlling youth violence and taking advantage of police capabilities for accomplishing that result.

Moore concluded, "When a police department says it is committed to community policing, the police are implicitly understanding that they're trying to produce a level of security and freedom from both fear and victimization that gives people incentives for investing in themselves, in their families, and in their local neighborhood. In that sense, community policing embodies the belief that it is crime that causes poverty as well as poverty that causes crime. It also means that the police might actually be able to contribute to community development by making people in poor communities feel relatively confident that investments they make in themselves and in their community will be protected and preserved rather than wasted. Part of the idea of community policing, then, is to recognize that in the production of security we're creating the conditions under which powerful community institutions can arise."

On the Streets

Having heard what the police can do from the top down, Eric Davis gave conferees a look at what they can accomplish from the bottom up. Davis, who grew up in Chicago's Cabrini Green housing development, has been a Chicago police officer for 12 years. Working as plainclothes police officers at Cabrini Green, Davis and his partners found a new way to relate to the young people in the area—they formed a rap group called the Slick Boys, the street name for policemen in plain clothes. They also negotiated a truce between the two gangs that were creating a nightmare of violence and crime for residents of the housing project.

"You may remember that about five years ago, a lady named Laurie Dann shot up a grade school in Winnetka— it was on the national news," Davis began. "The first thing I saw was numerous psychologists and psychiatrists and social workers saying, 'We'll volunteer our time to go talk to those kids and talk to those parents. We want you to talk to us; we want you to release everything that's built up in you.'

"And I said, 'Man, kids in my neighborhood see somebody shot every day, and no one talks to them, so they're

holding it all inside,'" he recalled. "I decide I'm gonna' play psychiatrist—because I've got a degree in child development, so I'm figuring, 'Hey, I'm just as capable as they are.'"

Davis then related an imaginary conversation with a youngster at Cabrini Green. Learning that someone had been shot the night before, he asks, "Ain't you scared of getting shot, man?"

The response comes, "Gonna' die anyway. I'm only gonna' live to be 21 anyway."

"That's what TV tells our kids—that if you have sex, AIDS gonna' get you. Young and black, if you do happen to live, you gonna' get old in the penitentiary. 'Man, I'm gonna sell crack and live a good life. Might as well live, man, 'cause you ain't got much time.'

"Cabrini Green had been in a serious gang war for ten years. We're talking about an area that's almost a square mile in size, and the statistics were 185 shootings a year, 35 to 40 murders a year—we didn't even look at the people beat with baseball bats; that didn't even count," Davis recounted. "Being the eleventh child out of twelve, I'm a natural negotiator, and I decided along with my partners that maybe we could negotiate something here to get a little peace and a little harmony in this neighborhood. The police department, and not just this one, police departments all over the country naturally don't like you negotiating a lot of things without asking them if it's okay to negotiate. But we negotiated a situation with the gangs in Cabrini Green, the Black Gangster Disciples and the Vice Lords, to set up a peace treaty."

He said, "I got information on all the other times that people have tried to negotiate problems within the community. One thing that is done in many communities is, 'Let's get the ministers; let's get the mothers. Exclude those gangbangers; we don't want them.'

"But they're not just gangbangers," Davis said. "First of all, they are who runs the community—period. They are the economic base for most of the families in the community, because the Black Gangster Disciples employ more black and hispanic men than Ford, than Saturn, than any other corporation in this state.

"We decided that we were going to get these people together not even because of those reasons, but because they were also the daddy to many of the kids of this community, so how could you not count them in?" he continued.

"We sat everybody down, and the first thing we decided to do as the police was to relinquish some of our power," Davis recalled. "'Hey, you're a man and I'm a man. Let's work something out for the future of your kids.'"

He added, "I think every father and mother wants their child to have a better life than they've had or are having. If you're making $100,000 a year, you hope your kid makes $600,000 a year; if you make nothing, you want your kids to make something.

"The first thing we had to decide was, what's the worse of the two evils—gang banging or drug dealing?" Davis said. "By far, gang banging. Black people don't even see drug dealing as a crime; they see it more as a nuisance. When they call the police to report drug dealing they're not thinking, 'They're gonna' give drugs to my kid.' They say, 'Look, them boys selling drugs out in front of my house, and they got their radios up too loud, and I got to go to work tomorrow.' They just want them to just move down the street. They don't care if they sell drugs, because anybody that comes to our neighborhood knows black kids don't smoke crack. Very rarely do I see a black kid using heroin, crack, because—'I see my mom strung out every day.' People who use drugs that live in the black community, I'd say, are 25 years old and older. The problem with drugs in the community is that the parents don't raise their kids."

He continued. "The kids who use drugs in the black community are white kids who drive there to get it—kids out in Wheaton, kids out in Wilmette. In affluent areas you can disguise a hell of a lot of things with dollars. The biggest drug problem in our community by far is the 20 liquor stores in that square mile."

Davis and his partners decided to take a commonsense approach to the gangbangers. They said, "When the police come, you can't sell drugs, right, 'cause there are too many police officers around. Why don't you guys be smart businessman and stop shooting?"

"There may not be scientific data, but I know we're losing the war on drugs," Davis commented. "And I know when there is violence in the community, more drugs get sold. Because when there is violence, we're so busy running to the gunshots, we run past the dope dealer.

"So the gangbangers thought about it, and they said, 'Yeah, yeah—that sounds good. We'll stop the violence, and then, when you see us, you see us.'" Davis said. "They stopped shooting—and drug sales went down, because with the gun-

fire stopped, that took the covers off everything. Before, if you saw a kid breaking into a car, he'd tell you, 'Don't you know they're shooting? Why don't you go stop them?' If a kid was standing on the corner smoking weed, he'd say, 'They're shooting across the street, and you want to stop *me*?' Now we could see everything that they were doing."

Though the truce brought many changes to Davis' beat, he pointed out, "Drug dealing still goes on in Cabrini Green, and it goes on because people in Cabrini Green are addicted to eating. They got to do that every day, and they sell drugs not to get big fancy cars, not to go get a house in Bel Air. They sell drugs to buy Pampers, to pay rent, to be daddy.

"I think there are a few programs in our public schools that are great," Davis said. "I think the drug programs are great. I think what Ms. Pryce does is great for our babies. I think what all of you do is great, but we have to start taking a more commonsense approach. I think no matter where you go to school, most kids these days know about drugs and alcohol, and most kids aren't gonna' get involved with drugs and alcohol. But most kids want to have sex, and that goes on the rest of their lives. Most kids are gonna' be parents. How come we wait for someone 18 to have a baby, and then we say, 'Hey, your kid is at risk,' when we know that most of them probably will be parents? So why don't we have parenting classes in school? I think if these kids are gonna' grow up to be parents, teach them to be parents in high school.

"There's a lot of guys since the violence has stopped, a lot of the fathers, who normally would say, 'I don't have any money; I don't have any parenting skills—I'm gonna run,'" he noted. "Now, since we've got peace and control in the neighborhoods, they walk their sons and daughters to school. They play with their kids in the park. They feel that they've picked up parenting skills, and that alone has kept the family together a little longer. Now there are more fathers who say, 'I'm gonna' stay with my family 'cause it's the right thing to do.'

"What we wanted to do by stopping the violence was to introduce the community to the resources that were available—many of the resources were unable to come in due to the heavy violence," Davis said. "The Slick Boys don't have time to go out and save each neighborhood; we can't do it. But each neighborhood already has programs in place—if the programs can in fact get to the people that they need to get to. To create new programs is not necessary; there are a ton of great programs out there. Getting the programs to the people, getting the programs to be practical—that's what you guys get paid the big bucks for. I just carry a pistol."

In Smaller Cities: An Experimental Program

William Geller of the Police Executive Research Forum was the next presenter. Bill Bratton, who called Geller "one of the foremost writers in America on American police issues," noted that the particular value of Geller's work to the profession stemmed from his expertise not just as an academic, but an academic who "goes into the field to learn."

Geller talked about a program he is involved in in Charlotte, North Carolina. "Part of what Phil Heymann asked me to talk about was an attempt to expose the police in a working environment to a lot of other disciplines that might be relevant to their concerns about kids. What's being attempted in Charlotte—which is nowhere near being able to report results, let alone claim success—is that we're trying to help average police officers work with average people who live in poor communities and also to work with public agencies of different kinds. I'm struck by the fact that Eric does not represent an average police officer. Most cops don't start out as gangbangers in one of the toughest public housing complexes in the country. Most cops don't get a music video on MTV as part of a rap group, and most cops weren't starting point guards for the University of Houston, playing alongside Hakeem Olajawun and Clyde Drexler.

"While we're always grateful for the heroes, the role models, as we struggle along with police officers trying to make a difference in cities as large as New York and as small as rural departments, we're trying to find out what seems to work for average people," he continued. "And as we worried about children and violence problems along with everybody else a couple of years ago, the first insight we had was that the police can't possibly know all the things that they need to know about children, not even enough to avoid doing harm.

"So what we're attempting to do in one middle school in Charlotte, North Carolina, in a poor neighborhood, is to bring the police into an exploratory collaboration with people who are quite knowledgeable about child development and about schools," Geller said. "We're attempting to build bridges and explore the conditions under which partnerships can make a difference in the ability of kids to learn and teachers to teach in middle schools. We're trying to get them to see through one another's eyes."

The support team, he said, is composed of both academics and police officers. The idea is for the police to learn "strategies that rely on things other than the criminal justice system for making a difference, so that the police are increasingly willing to recognize incidents as having a past and a future and a connection to other things that are going on."

The second part of the program comes out of the school reform movement, Geller said. "School reform is in part about trying to bridge the gap between the home and community values that the kids have and the school's values, so as to reduce some of the very confusing and harmful mixed messages that kids are getting.

"To take the simplest example, a kid who at home and in the neighborhood is taught that if another kid hits you, you hit him back, gets rewarded for that behavior," he pointed out. "He comes to school, does what he's been taught to do, and now gets in trouble for that behavior. One mechanism for trying to deal with problems like this is to bring parents into the governance and operating life of the school and to enable them with child development expertise and guidance on strategic and service questions."

The third aspect of the Charlotte project involves having mental health clinicians on 24-hour emergency call engage in active collaboration and cross training with police officers. The idea here, Geller said, is that the police will come to see that "the youngster witnessing adults solving problems through violence is a potential psychological *victim* of violent problem solving. We want the police to recognize the need for intervention, to teach the kid that hurting others is not an effective way to solve problems.

"It's these bodies of interest and knowledge and experience that are attempting to come together as a sort of intellectual safety net in Charlotte," he said. "Teachers and school administrators, guidance counselors and social workers, psychologists and psychiatrists, police, and parents, and community business people—all are attempting to come together in a project that bears the title, 'Summoning the Village.' The notion is that if they work together, the end result will benefit the kids."

Is Looking for Workable Programs Missing a Broader Point?

One question that remains even after successful programs have been identified is: Are programs per se too narrow an approach? Peter Edelman opened a discussion of the question by saying, "If we're going to deal with this problem in terms of public policy and in terms of the totality of private action, we need a new vision. But I'm talking about a strategic vision, and that's bigger than a program vision. It's really a framework within which the pieces that we've been discussing fit. It's the framework for picking up Peter Greenwood's four items, or however many he ends up with. It would be something that would be long-term in terms of any particular young person; that is to say, it would have lasting effects."

He continued, "We've had too many short-term, one-dimensional programs that have short-term effects. My two nominations for terminology for a long-term vision are 'safe passages,' which is a term that Donna Shalala is using, and 'clear pathways,' which is a term that I often use personally. They both connote the same thing—that there needs to be a clear goal for young people. There needs to be opportunity at the end of a pathway—at the end of a safe passage."

That opportunity, he said, "whether it's for post-secondary education or a job after high school, is ultimately for full participation in the adult society. We've got to be thinking about a way for that safe passage to occur from the very beginning, with prenatal care. Then we need a number of items along the way. One is a school-to-work strategy. We need activities in off-school hours. We need the presence of caring adults, people who will spend time with kids—their parents, but others as well. We need opportunities for young people themselves to serve, to contribute to others. And the concept of community is very, very fundamental—the notion within each locality of the responsibility of all for all.

"The last piece to the list," Edelman concluded, "is the importance of values and messages about values. I think we have a struggle about values that's going on in this country, about the attitudes that we have toward violence, toward reproductive activity, and toward a whole lot of other things that form values. I don't think we have enough focus on those."

Is American Society Off the Track?

Edelman's overview was followed by a presentation from Otis Johnson, executive director of the Chatham-Savannah [Georgia] Youth Futures Authority. Johnson began by asking, and answering, a rhetorical question, "What would the ideal kid moving from adolescence into adulthood look like? The desired outcome is somebody who's going to be economically self sufficient, who can go out and earn a living. You want them to be able to create healthy families and social relationships. And, finally, you want them to be good citizens.

"Now that's not a long list of things, but it's a very critical list of outcomes that everything from conception on ought to be building towards," he said. "So, what do we do to help facilitate these outcomes? You want folk to learn to be productive, you want them to learn how to connect, and, especially if you're an African American or a person of color, you better darn well know how to navigate through the mine fields of this society. So what helps that?

"The information that I'm going to relate is primarily about youth development," Johnson said. "It says that good youth development rests on core supports and opportunities, which can then be done through these mediating factors: families, peers, communities, and other supportive adults.

He noted, "Geoff Canada says, 'If you wonder how a 14-year-old can shoot another child his age in the head, or how boys can do drive-by shootings and then go home to dinner, you need to know you don't get there in a day or in a week or a month. It takes years of preparation to be willing to commit murder, to be willing to kill or die for a corner, a color, or a leather jacket. Many of the children of America are conditioned early to kill and, more frighteningly, to die for what an outsider might see as a trivial cause.'"

Referring to his paper, "Clickety Clack, Clickety Clack, the Train Is Off the Tracks," Johnson said, "Using the train as a metaphor allows us to visualize society as a train going down a set of tracks. Ideally, society should go down these tracks, representing societal norms, successfully socializing one generation after another to internalize the dominant values and norms of the society."

"Every society must have some system of social control, a means of ensuring that people generally behave in expected and approved ways," Johnson pointed out. "Some of this social control over the individual is exercised by others—either formally, through such agencies as the police, or informally, through the reactions of other people during everyday life. Most social control does not have to be exercised through the direct influence of other people; we exercise it ourselves, internally. Growing up in a society involves the internalization of norms—making conformity to the norms of one's culture a part of one's personality, so that one usually follows social expectations automatically, without question.

"The personality of a person is, to a large degree, socially created and maintained," Johnson continued. "Through the process of socialization, the person internalizes the norms and values of society. The person learns the script for acting, feeling, and thinking that is in keeping with the wishes of society. Socialization enables the society to reproduce itself socially and biologically, thus ensuring its continuity from generation to generation. We are the product not of either heredity or learning, but of a complex interaction between the two. The major transmitters of the cultural patterns and the agents of socialization are the family, the schools, religious institutions, and the media. An African proverb, 'It takes a whole village to raise a child,' gives recognition to the necessary collaboration among the agents of socialization to produce the kind of person the society wants. Any analysis of youth violence must wrestle with the question: Why is the socialization process breaking down to the point that more children of all classes and races are becoming perpetrators of violence? We learn how to act. Violence is learned behavior."

How, Johnson asked, can we get the train back on the tracks? "If there is consensus that youth violence is presently too high, then America must get to work with all deliberate speed to avoid what is being predicted for the future.

"Researchers debate the conditions that cause young individuals to commit violent acts," he acknowledged. "However, there is a correlation between the quality of life conditions of the high-risk group, the high-rates-of-violence victims, and the violent offenders within this group. This high-risk group has:

—the highest rate of child abuse and neglect
—the highest rate of youth and adult unemployment
—the poorest housing conditions
—the highest rate of births to unwed mothers—both teenage mothers and adult mothers."

And, Johnson pointed, out, "This high-risk group also has:

—the highest rate of juvenile offenders
—the highest rate of adult offenders for both violent and non-violent crime
—the highest rate of drug offenses and drug-related crimes
—the highest rate of alcohol and substance abuse."

He noted, "Within this community, the highest proportion of these high-risk youth are from the economic underclass and are people of color, especially African Americans. Within the African American community, young black males are the most at-risk of being a victim of violence and of committing an act of violence. This is reflected in the statistics presented in studies on violence.

"These conditions are not recent developments," Johnson said. "They existed in this country when segregation existed, and they continue to exist under desegregation. These conditions reflect continuing indifference, insensitivity, and neglect by the advantaged population of this country to the conditions of these disadvantaged populations. The disadvantaged economic condition of the African American community and other communities of color is evident especially in the children who attend the public schools of this nation. In many schools more than 50 percent of the student population qualifies for free or reduced-price meals. Male students, especially black male students in most school districts have:

—the highest rates for retention in grade
—the highest rates for course failures
—the highest rates for being overage for grade
—the highest rates for disciplinary actions
—the highest percentage of students with reading and math scores at or below the 25th percentile.

"With some justification, there are many who feel that these conditions reflect the destructive effects of classism and racism in this country," he declared. "These two success inhibitors are major factors in the lack of effective responses to the underclass condition of people of color by the federal, state, and local government, and the private sector.

"We know a lot, yet we don't act," Johnson said. "In spite of volumes of political rhetoric, the expenditure of billions of dollars to create more jails, to strengthen law enforcement, and to revise the courts, not much has changed in controlling the violence problem."

"We are back to the African proverb: 'It takes a whole village to raise a child,' he said. "In the face of past failures, there is a need to change the focus of the efforts to control youth violence. Rather than continue to pursue exclusively the current strategy of controlling the problem by apprehension and incarceration of violent offenders, resources need to be allocated to develop proactive strategies. These new strategies should focus on improving the socialization process of youth who are most vulnerable to the violence risk factors.

"What type of template would I use to evaluate neighborhood-based programs for comprehensive provision of services?" Johnson asked. "I would find out:

- Are the goals about support and opportunities, and do they recognize the importance of continuity, challenge, and choice rather than only emphasizing deficits, deviance, and deterrence?
- Are the interventions a mixture of services—things done *to* youths (e.g., health care, housing), supports (things done *with* youths to help them build their capacity for decision-making, resource identification, problem-solving) and opportunities (things that can be done *by* youths to build and apply skills, gain and offer experience)?
- Is there a broad array of actors involved at all levels of the initiative? Are families, neighbors, residents, and youths being enabled and empowered to acknowledge and address individual and community problems?
- Is the lead organization acting as a catalyst for change? Are staff advocates as well as service providers?
- Are resources targeted to maximize impact and to match the needs of youths? Are opportunities being presented to avoid trapping youths and their families in dependency?
- Is the intervention seen as part of a comprehensive approach to youth development or is it a discrete program (youth violence)?"

He concluded, "It is my firm belief that this discussion has been too narrow. Unless we have some kind of overall conceptual framework that guides the work of how we create healthy, productive juveniles who become healthy productive adults, we will not be able to reduce the level of violence or do any of the other things that we're concerned about, such as teen parenthood, dropping out of school, and substance abuse."

What Does It Take to Raise a Village?

The next presenter was Gregory Hodge. The Urban Strategies Council, of which he is executive director, serves as an intermediary in the Oakland area between the government and outside agencies and people who work in the neighborhood on persistent urban poverty issues. He said, "As far as I'm concerned, we almost have worn out the proverb, 'It takes an entire village to raise a child,' because we don't spend a lot of time analyzing what a village was, what a village represents."

"A friend of mine named Max Anderson, who works in one of the poorest neighborhoods within west Oakland, talks about the notion that villages created a system of redundancy," Hodge said. "Villages created institutions that continue to be repetitive, if you will, about the basic values and principles of the community.

"When many of us, especially my parents' generation, talk about what it was like to grow up in the South—which is where I grew up—they really are talking about the village," he pointed out. "They really are talking about how, if your mother told you to engage in a certain type of behavior, your neighbor told you the same thing—your barber, your teacher, the postman. Everybody in the neighborhood continued to reinforce your norms and your sense of what was appropriate: how you spoke to elders, how you dealt with women if you were a man, how women dealt with men, and so on. The kinds of communities we had were resource poor, but value rich.

"We use the village metaphor a lot, but I want to focus just for a moment on the other side of it," Hodge continued.

"It takes a village to raise a child—but what does it take to raise a village? What does it take to create new institutions that don't look anything like the institutions we currently have to deal with contemporary challenges?"

He noted, "Peter Edelman started this conversation saying that really what we're talking about is strategies—strategies for change, strategies for community building—as opposed to simply looking at programs. The notion of community building as a framework for considering this is very important to me. I think that if we begin to really contextualize all the information that we've had over the last couple of days, it is the strongest when we see how individual programs fit into the larger whole. When we talk about comprehensive community-building initiatives in Oakland and around the country, we really are talking about how you bring greater capacity to people in those neighborhoods, in those institutions, to do what needs to be done for children and youth. We need to redefine what we mean by youth development, and Dr. Johnson's paper goes a long way in terms of bringing some cohesion to the conversation that we've been having about these different interventions.

"If these interventions don't add up to comprehensive, positive youth development—that is, giving young people the supports, the protection, and opportunities they need to become caring, creative, and competent adults—then we really are missing the mark," Hodge said. "The framework of the comprehensive community initiative, the movement around community building, is beginning to pick up steam. The challenge for this kind of group is: How do we take the best research, the best evaluation principles that we know currently about youth development, about school-to-work, about economic development for community development corporations, and begin to merge them into a more comprehensive system?

"In Oakland and around the country, folks are operating within the context of a neighborhood-based support system for young people. In New York, they call them Beacons; in some places, they call them second-shift schools; others call them community schools. But the idea is opening up public schools as community centers that are youth focused, but family sensitive," he noted.

"We're going to call these 'Village Centers' in Oakland, where we're thinking about them as part of a strategy, not simply co-locating services. We're working with 42 community residents to help organize governance in the neighborhoods where the Village Center models go," Hodge said. "A community-development strategy brings in all the key stakeholders in a community around data, around best practices, around a sense and a spirit of community. If we do that, we can then begin to take elements of other kinds of programs and fit them into their proper place.

"We know that the solution to some of these issues has to do with re-engaging adults with children," he pointed out. "We know that we need to stop demonizing young people and acting like they're something from another planet. These are our children. If young people are failing, it's because we're failing. It's because the institutions that we control are failing, not because young people themselves are somehow predators.

"By way of recommendation, I think, number one, that if we begin to think explicitly about how we merge the field of youth development and community development to come up with community youth development, that goes a long way toward being more comprehensive," Hodge said.

"Number two. We need to really redefine the research and evaluation tools that we use to measure outcomes at the neighborhood level," he added. "And the outcomes are going to have to be defined by people who live in those neighborhoods.

"Number three. Whatever we do with research and evaluation, with program implementation, we need to create the environment for political will that moves from what I call 'seek-and-destroy'—apprehend-and-incarcerate—strategies 'to teach-and-employ' strategies," Hodge continued.

"The last piece is that we need the best thinking around organization and development to begin to manage the top-down, bottom-up tensions that are typical when we talk about community building—getting city governments and community-based organizations, churches, and individuals to really work together," he concluded. "If we begin to do that, we will be able to really make some impact on this issue of violence as we move into the next millennium."

When Can Good Programs Be Replicated and Expanded?

Participants had learned about any number of effective—and cost-effective—programs to prevent youth violence at the conference. But nagging doubts remained about whether such programs could be replicated and expanded.

Peter Greenwood raised the question, "How do we go from the Yale Guidance Clinic's running the program to L.A. County's doing it?"

With regard to replication of programs for the very young, Lawrence Aber pointed out, "Hiro talked most about preventive interventions early in childhood, before age five or six," Aber noted. "My own reading of the early intervention literature that Hiro reviews is that the success of these programs is not dependent on the charisma of a leader, on the newness of the program, or on the level of dedication of the staff in any simple sense. These have been replicated too often for them to be quite like that—but they are dependent on the right program model. I think the big message from Hiro's paper is that family support and early education together have an effect that neither one does alone on long-term outcomes like delinquency and antisocial behavior.

"We haven't talked as much about the quality of programs," he added. "But while the charisma of the leader and the newness of the program may not matter, the quality of the program matters enormously. I think the big unkept secret is the program variability in Head Start. Head Start is *not* 'Head Start is Head Start.' There is good Head Start and bad Head Start. I think we'd go a long way if we'd simplify program models and really beef up attention to program quality when going to scale.

"I also think how these things hit the street under different state and local family supportive programs is terribly important to keep in mind," Aber said. "Tim Sweeting and his colleagues are coming out with an index in which he rates different countries on their family supportive policies. He correlates these with rates of labor force participation and rates of child poverty and shows that countries with great supportive policies, not surprisingly, have a lot more women at work and a lot fewer poor kids. We need to be doing that kind of systematic thinking around state and community variations in policies.

"With the new federalism there is no question that the program environment for early interventions is being restructured," he pointed out. "Though states have made very creative use of federal funds to start comprehensive programs, if we give them flexibility and reduce the dollars, that's not going to lead to more comprehensiveness and flexibility.

"Early interventions by definition can occupy all of a parent's time," Aber noted. "The biggest reality for poor parents is that they're going to be asked to work a lot more. They're going to have less time for parenting, so all the early interventions that we've talked about up 'til now where parents weren't asked to work as much aren't relevant in exactly the same way. By definition, most early intervention programs take a lot of time, so we need to think about how to engage parents and how to redefine the boundaries between work and parenting."

Providing Organizational Development Assistance

With regard to school programs, Denise Gottfredson noted that in a three-year project in Baltimore, "we did climate assessments when we first went into the school, and they showed us that the school was rock bottom on almost every dimension of school climate you can imagine. Morale and several perceptions of safety, communication, and so on were just really terrible.

"But we started to build teams of school administrators and teachers, and asked them about their perceptions of the problems in their schools," Gottfredson continued. "We started from that and helped them to build a different way of running their school around their perceptions of what they saw as the problem and the sources of the problem.

"We just continually worked with them and fed infor-

mation back to them about how they were doing," she recalled. "They didn't do very well in the beginning, but they used the information about how they were doing to try to isolate the problems. And over a three-year period, the school definitely improved. When we did the climate assessments at the end of the three-year period, they were at about the middle. I don't mean to present an overly pessimistic case. It's just that we have to realize that you can't go in with these programs without providing training and expect that there's going to be a big difference."

However, Gottfredson continued, "the unfortunate fact is that many schools are not capable of delivering the necessary services with the strength and fidelity to make a difference. Most evidence about the effectiveness of prevention strategies comes from carefully controlled studies conducted under unusual circumstances. Either the program developers or carefully selected and trained personnel implement the program, and careful monitoring provides ongoing feedback so that corrective actions may be taken to improve implementation. Even when prevention strategies are tested with live school personnel, it is generally with a much higher level of training and technical assistance than would normally be provided. These experiences are not highly generalizable to real-world conditions."

She pointed out that research indicates that the factors that make for success in real-world implementation of programs are: highly skilled teachers with a clear sense of their own effectiveness; cultural norms that do not reject the innovations introduced by the program; strong district- and school-level leadership; staff stability; central office support; and a climate that supports change.

Unfortunately, Gottfredson said, "the limited research on the distribution of these important predictors of success suggests that many of these factors are less likely to be found in urban schools—so that precisely those schools whose populations are most in need of prevention and intervention services are least able to provide those services.

"We recently attempted a 'super program' in a troubled middle school," she said. "The program included several components aimed at increasing social competency skills as well as components aimed at increasing social bonding and school success. Most components had been demonstrated in prior single intervention research to reduce problem behaviors or factors leading to such behaviors.

"We used six different components, which included a mentoring program, some interventions aimed at improving academics—including cooperative learning techniques and a tutoring program—as well as different elements aimed at social competency skill promotion," Gottfredson noted. "The idea was to inundate the students with all of these different components aimed at what we thought would reduce problem behavior.

"The results of the five-year effort were disappointing," she admitted. "The program never reached its expected level of implementation, and no reliable effects on youth behavior or attitudes were observed. We traced the failure to several organizational features of the school and of the school district that resulted in the school's not being able to absorb the innovations."

She continued, "Although the research on the 'technology' of prevention has advanced in the past decade, we know little about the conditions necessary to apply these advances under real-world conditions. There is an apparent need for organization development and technical assistance strategies to help schools at different states of readiness accept change. For some schools it will be necessary to shore up the organization to support change and establish problem-solving processes before new practices are attempted. This might be accomplished through an organizational development process that features the identification and monitoring of clear implementation standards and the open analysis and resolution of obstacles that prevent the standards from being met."

Gottfredson noted that she and her colleagues had used such organizational development techniques in their earlier, successful school change efforts but not in this more recent, unsuccessful test. She said, "In the absence of this type of intervention to build school organizational capacity, the promise of school-based violence prevention is not likely to be fulfilled—at least not in the places experiencing the most severe problems."

With regard to the implementation problems Gottfredson noted, Bill Modzeleski pointed out, "The management of schools is changing on a regular basis, and many of our urban district superintendents last no longer than two, sometimes three, years. That means that the chief executive officer, the person who controls the schools is leaving pretty much as you're getting your research in place—or

your leader or your mentor is moving, and school boards are changing. And sometimes the election of school boards doesn't coincide with the election of superintendents, so what you're seeing in many school districts is constant flux in the leadership—and then there's not anybody to carry your banner for you. I think this needs to be kept in mind as we move forward with schools."

Creating Community Support

The discussion was continued by David Racine, president of Replication and Program Strategies, Inc., a year-old organization whose mission is to identify promising social programs that are amenable to replication and to assist them in the replication process. He began with a question: "What do you replicate, and how do you replicate it?

"First, let's take the innovations," Racine said. "I want to complicate things a bit and say that they don't all take one form. I want to try to make a distinction among three types of innovations that can be replicated. Programs are one. I'll give a stylized definition of a program as a specific effort that has multiple, interrelated components and that is essentially continuous in operation. We've had examples: the Quantum Opportunities program, YouthBuild, Avance.

"I want to call the second category concepts," he went on. "These are things that are more abstract; they're ideas or sets of principles. Three Strikes is a concept; lengthening the school day would be a concept. I could go on, but there's no need to belabor the point. The basic notion here is that a concept is something that is more general than a program.

"And then there is this more awkward category—I'm not altogether comfortable with it yet," Racine acknowledged. "But for the sake of pushing the argument somewhat, I call this category processes. A process would be something that's more concrete than a concept, but more open-ended than a program in terms of the outcomes that are expected. I would think, at least based on the description that Caroline Schooler gave of the violence prevention initiative the California Wellness Foundation is sponsoring, that the advocacy preparation going on there is a process. And if it's happening in 17 communities or so there, it's being replicated in those 17 communities. There are also aspects of what Otis and Gregory talked about in their work in Savannah and Oakland that entail processes one could envision being modeled in some way in other communities as well."

He continued, "These three different forms that social innovation takes are distinguished in the following ways: Programs, I think, are attractive from the standpoint of producing results. In most good programs, there's a fairly clear cause-and-effect mechanism in place. Concepts are good in creating markets—in establishing a presence in the larger environment for an idea, which creates a climate in which more concrete activities may take place over time. And processes are really strong in terms of generating relationships.

"If you look again at what's going on in Savannah and Oakland, for example, it seems to me that the process innovations occurring there are primarily a form of relationship building on which concrete things can be built," he noted. "And, in fact, these processes are not particularly valuable unless they lead to some kind of measurable gain in the community.

"The notion I have is that all three of these kinds of innovations, one could see fitting into an overall strategy—a change strategy," Racine said. "And that the—I call them sub-strategies—that each one entails would need to fit together in various ways and serve different purposes.

"However, let me say a little bit more about innovations," he added. "It has to do with the qualities we're looking for in these programs, and these are rather obvious ones. For example, the program should be effective; it should have some evidence of its effectiveness, of its impact. But more than that, and this is simply reiterating what others have said during the course of these proceedings, the program should have some kind of well-developed theory underlying it; it should have a certain operational coherence when it's put into practice. And, in terms of its effects, it should produce short-term effects, with some hope that downstream there may be longer-term effects."

Racine added a caveat: "There are no perfect replications; everything is adapted. That's the reality; it has always been the reality. We waste time and rhetoric if we get hung up on whether replication means exactly the same as was done in some other place.

"But let me move on to the innovators—or the propagators—and the adopters and pose the question, 'Who are the innovators and what role do they play?'" he said. "Though there's some sense in which 'eggheads' develop these things and then they're picked up by the public sector and made to happen, our view is that the innovators, especially in a soci-

ety like ours, where there are some questions about a coherent role for government, need to be entrepreneurs, pushing their programs and practices into the environment.

"At both ends, though—the innovators and the adopters—there are certain needs," Racine pointed out. "Entrepreneurship, I think, has to be present in both places; risk taking is involved at both ends. Organizational management capacities need to be present in both places—I think that's obvious. But I think there's a question of whether capacities can be generically created. I'm a lot more comfortable with the notion that the task of implementing a program or of taking a concept and translating it into something operational in the community—something relatively specific—provides much better-grounded opportunities for people to learn the sorts of generic capacities they may need than more generalized training or preparation.

"Credibility and legitimacy are critical at both ends," he noted. "But the innovator—the entrepreneur—has to be able to run the political traps as well. And this is a hard one, because these programs are resource intensive and in the social sector resources are in short supply.

"You've got to decide what quality is and then monitor it, although there are more draconian and less draconian ways of doing that," Racine said. "And the less draconian ways are more likely to generate the right kind of relationship with local adopters, which leads me to my next point: In effect, what you're doing when you're taking one of these good programs or concepts that we've talked about here and moving it out into the environment is, you're creating a network. And networks are essentially a function of relationships. The biggest mistake innovators make is not realizing that the most important prerequisite for making anything happen is that relationship.

"It's not so much initial fidelity to the original model that is crucial, but that the terms of a trustworthy relationship have been established," he said. "Then lots of things can be made to happen. It's kind of a variation on the notion that Rome wasn't built in a day. In other words, if you can get the relationship established, you can then put some of these programs in a more evolutionary mode, because the relationship will carry them from there.

"The last thing I'd say on the innovators and the adopters is that pace is really important," Racine continued. "Because of the peculiar kind of resource flows in the social sector, we frequently run into situations where people sort of seize the moment. They get a program out very quickly, though they've never really developed the capacity to manage it very effectively. And it becomes a kind of a house of cards phenomenon—a little breeze, and it falls down. Experiences like this illustrate the importance of trying to go slow."

He went on, "I'd also like to point out a tactic that I think replicators or those who are trying to make something happen on a broader scale need to take into account. While social scientists may say, 'Let's test these things out in a variety of environments to see whether they work everywhere,' from a practitioner's perspective, this occurs in a market-driven way. That is, you take things to places that want them—you don't try to force new practices on communities. The opening, central condition of making something happen in a new community is that they really want it there. There may be other complications in terms of whether they're capable of picking it up, but, nonetheless, I think a strong argument can be made for replication working best if it's market driven. When it's market driven, you see this process of the enthusiasm of early adopters gradually seeping into the psyche of later adopters, even when they were more reluctant initially. And you can enable things to achieve a greater scale if you approach it in this way, where your expectation isn't that this is going to happen everywhere all at once, but that you're going to build it over time.

"Too often, social scientists, I think, focus too much on making their knowledge policy-worthy, and, in the meantime, we sort of forget about how to take something and make it happen," he concluded. "I think sometimes the best way to effect policy change is to sort of get something rolling on the ground—make it happen in enough places so that the policy then can kind of come in behind it and provide a framework for it—bless it with resources, and so on. Obviously in today's environment, that's tough, because the resources and the politics are not all that favorable. Nonetheless, I think this has a lot of merit as a basic strategy."

Replicating a Good Program: Getting It Rolling on the Ground

On the day the recent federal crime bill was signed, Avance was featured on the McNeill-Lehrer news program as a model comprehensive program for preventing crime and delinquency. Successes like these have led to replication of

Avance-type programs across the country.

Gloria Rodriguez recounted, "We received a million dollars from the Carnegie Foundation to evaluate the effectiveness of Avance's two original community centers. The researchers found significant differences in parents' and children's attitudes, knowledge, and behavior after our nine-month core program. All of this has to do with building strong, positive, social relationships, with bonding and attachment. Not only did the parents begin to interact in a positive way with their children, they also had a change of attitude about physical punishment. They saw themselves as teachers. And they began to learn about and use contraceptives, so that they could limit the number of their children.

"In a follow-up study of the parents one year after they had completed the core program, 60 percent of them had continued their education," Rodriguez said. "And we did a follow-up on what had happened to children who were under the age of two when they entered the program 17 years before. Though 91 percent of their parents had dropped out of high school, 94 percent of these children had completed their high school education and 43 percent were attending college.

"Carnegie was very pleased with the results that came out of what was a very rigorous research protocol, which they oversaw and for which they had handpicked the researchers," she noted. "They told us, 'We want Avance to be taken to scale. What can we do to build your capacity?' The largest foundations in the country have now joined Carnegie to build our capacity and to create a five-year strategic plan to get Avance in most if not all of the Hispanic communities throughout the country.

"Before we could do that, we had to reorganize and decentralize our operation," Rodriguez pointed out. "We had to establish what we consider to be our standards—what we consider to be the core elements that will produce the results. Then we had to develop a training division and a monitoring division, so that as we decentralized operations we could make sure that we would produce the same results we had been getting.

"In essence, what we have created is a non-profit franchise," she said. "I have to say, it's like a business. We're a $7-million organization right now. We just added four new cities through a $1-million grant from the state of Texas—with unanimous bipartisan support.

"Basically, we are experimenting to see if Avance can work on this scale, and I know it can, because we've replicated it successfully," Rodriguez continued. "In San Antonio alone, there are 30 family centers, and they're doing wonderfully. In Houston, there's another leader producing the same kinds of results.

"We have hired some people to go into our new cities," she said. "We want Avance to be controlled by the local community. A local board of directors will hire the executive director and be responsible for raising their own funds and making sure that Avance's name is protected and its mission is enhanced.

"Avances are all over the United States, even in Puerto Rico, under different names," Rodriguez noted. "There's one in Yonkers, New York, called A Different Start. There's one in Atlanta, one in San Diego, as well as other places. They're using the same principles, but under a different name. We've been around for 23 years, and we can see the effects—we've seen them year after year."

What Has a Real Prospect of Reducing Youth Violence?

As the conference drew to a close, Philip Heymann summarized the discussions that had been held: "What causes youth violence? We've talked about that. What strategies should we pursue to reduce youth violence? We've talked about that. Now I think we should ask another question: What would you bet on for the long-term future if you were a gambler trying to reduce youth violence? What can we say with some certainty works somewhere? What is salable?

"Imagine we're trying to talk to a mayor or a city manager and trying to tell that person what we know with most certainty would work with uncharismatic, but hard-working people putting their minds to it," he suggested. "I think this is where the rubber meets the road.

"I would say, 'It's an insurance hedge that we ought to get started with right now against the, I hope exaggerated, fears about the year 2005 or 2010, when we will have a much larger 18-year-old population than we have now,'" he added. "And it's a strategy for moving ahead when you can't see very well where you're going. If you're trying to cross a stream in a dense fog, it makes some sense to walk wherever you see a stone moving generally in the right direction. This may not get you where you want to go; you may end up in the middle of the stream. But it's a strategy for moving forward when you can't project the whole path.

"If I were talking to a mayor, I would talk in terms of a stock portfolio," Heymann said. "I'd want some things that are pretty certain, some things that are only 50 percent likely, and some that are quite unlikely to work but would have a very high payoff if they really grabbed hold." He added, "We need some things that will have an immediate payoff, because the mayor is not going to sit around and wait for everything to have a long-term payoff.

"Some will simply be low-cost additions to programs the mayor is already running," he pointed out. "Maybe the most important one will be a way of pulling together a number of existing programs so that they have a maximum effect on youth, or even on youth violence.

"There will be some organizational capacity building to address Denise's point that schools simply aren't capable of doing some of the things that would work," Heymann continued. "And finally, there will be something to hedge against the ending-up-in-the-middle-of-the-river possibility. Something to try and make sure that we're spreading out and testing the waters in a lot of places.

"If we simply told the mayor what we thought worked, we'd leave him or her with a very spotty picture," he cautioned. "What we know works may simply be the things that people have decided to try or to evaluate. That's why we need to hedge, to go into areas that, somehow or other, seem to have been overlooked.

"Here's what I'd tell the mayor so far," Heymann said. "'Mayor, I assembled all these experts from every corner of the country—people who are doing the programs, people who are studying the programs. If you're interested in youth violence, this is what we can tell you. Graduation incentives and intelligent supervision of young offenders, those two programs, Peter Greenwood says, pay off well. And you might as well do uniforms in schools. They seem to work; they're cheap. Uniforms are the perfect program, aren't they? A program that takes no talent at all to reproduce. Might as well do that.'

"Hiro's programs that combine family support and early childhood cognitive assistance?" he continued. "I'd say to the mayor, 'Look, this is long term. This is your do-good program. It's likely to have a terrific payoff, not in violence alone, but in a variety of things. But realize that you're not going to get credit for it for a long time; you're not going to be able to sell it as a violence prevention program. Still, in the category of long-term payoff, I would do it.'

"The mayor might want to ask about school programs," Heymann remarked. "Denise says they work, though there's

not a huge payoff, David Hawkins has a much more optimistic picture of what can be done with school programs. The big problem is the operating capacity of the schools to absorb them. 'I think we have to take this seriously, mayor, but we're going to have to worry about building some operational capacity.'

"Beacon schools seem to me almost a no-brainer," he continued. "Both using a school after hours as a safe haven, as a community center, as a place where you can deliver useful activities to children and parents, and as a place that people could organize around, seems to me a no-brainer.

"I would tell the mayor to take Avance very seriously," Heymann said. "It can be reproduced; it's a program that picks up teenage mothers and mothers-to-be. It makes a life for them; it helps them with their children. Once again, you're not going to be able to justify it in terms of violence alone—it's like the early childhood programs. But it's a winner.

"'On the policing side, mayor, when you call in your chief, I would tell him that we ought to target guns,'" he added. "'It seems to be working in New York. You want to know what that means? That means stop and frisk; it means the federal government coming up with metal detectors that work at a distance. Target 'shooters.' Target people who are more violent, and, particularly, focus your drug enforcement against people who are using guns. Focus your enforcement around dangerous people. Pick them up for drugs or anything else, but go after the shooters. And worry about hot spots. Identify where your violence is, and focus your police resources intelligently there.'"

A Short List of Suggestions for Violence Prevention

Heymann invited conferees to join him in the exercise of making suggestions to the hypothetical big-city mayor on how to prevent youth violence. They did so with enthusiasm. After much discussion, this is the list they came up with:

- Graduation incentives
- Structured programs for young offenders
- School uniforms
- Programs such as Avance that combine family support and early childhood education
- Beacon-type after-school programs in schools
- Programs designed to reduce abuse and neglect of children and abuse of mothers
- Safe havens for battered women and their children
- School-sponsored programs for children and parents, such as those in Seattle
- Community policing
- Policing that targets guns, dangerous people, and hot spots

How Can We Save Our Children?

Can youth violence be prevented? Can we indeed save our children? Conferees did their best to take a long, hard, honest look at what seems to be working—and what doesn't—to reverse the trend toward anger and alienation—and violence—that is tearing America apart. The list of pragmatic suggestions they came up with would be of use to the mayor of any American city, large or small. But just as important was the conclusion that programs alone are not enough. Both a sense of community in a healthy neighborhood and a feeling of belonging to the broader society are also necessary.

Refocusing our hearts, our minds, and our resources on re-connecting, on rebuilding our sense of community is essential if we are to save our children from lives marred or destroyed by violence and crime. And as Alex Kotlowitz pointed out, the children are ready. What he found in his years of research in Chicago's poorest neighborhoods was "children who had a very clear sense of right and wrong; children who had a very strong sense of what they wanted to be and didn't want to be when they got older; children who still had a vision, however blurred it might be; children who were still questioning the world around them. It wasn't until these children came to 15, 16, 17 years of age that the currents would become so strong that they often couldn't swim against them. So, if we want to talk about a foundation for rebuilding community, we have it in our children."

Attitudes Toward Marriage and Gender as They Affect Violence

APPENDIX A

Clearly, the values and attitudes displayed to children by both the family and the society have a profound effect on shaping what kind of adults those children become. Some conferees expressed the opinion that American attitudes toward marriage and toward gender roles play an important part in the rise in violence we have witnessed in recent years.

The Value of Marriage

Rick Rosenfeld began the discussion: "I want to raise the issue of marriage. Family support and healthy parenting have been an important subtext in all of the panels. But through all of that discussion, I've heard the issue of marriage come up only three times. Now I'm not promoting marriage as a violence or crime control solution. But I am suggesting that our discussions of family are somewhat unreal unless we talk about marriage. An important element of our discussion is values, and if we're going to turn the corner on the youth violence prevention issue, we have to send clear messages about those values."

He continued, "We don't have a clear message, I would argue, when it comes to marriage. I would suggest that there's not a single source of encouragement in this culture right now for young people to have children or to marry—in either order. The best we can do is encourage young people to wait until some point well after the violence and crime-prone years have passed, well after marriage might make a difference, at least for the persons involved. That's the best we can do—'Wait until you're economically self-sufficient.'

"So, here's the question," he concluded. "What in the family support programs and parent support and education programs that are operating now, especially the good ones, gives a message to young men and to young women about marriage? And one final comment—when you're talking to gang members in Chicago and they begin gushing about their feelings about being fathers, what do you tell them about the role of a husband with respect to the responsibility of being a father?"

Eric Davis responded, "First of all, I'm a pretty religious guy, and I understand morally that that's probably the correct thing to try to sell them on. But realistically, I don't think we can look at an at-risk community and point at what happens in their relationships and not look at society as a whole. Should I get married to say that I've been divorced three times? Does that make me a better father? 'Well, I was in love when I had babies with her, but we're not married anymore because I fell in love with my secretary.' I think there's a breakdown in our whole society, not just in low-income communities.

"I think that the problem in low-income communities specifically is that in many public housing developments, you're penalized if you have a husband, so the husband has to stay away and not act like the father because the rent will be raised," he added. "I think we definitely have to implement some plans where it's okay for the father to be there, because we're not going to raise the rent. And even if he gets a job, we're not going to raise the rent.

"I think the idea of public housing has to be to ultimately get up on your feet and leave," Davis said. "When my family was raised in public housing in the '60s, I would say 70 to 80 percent of the families there were married families. The difference between now and then is that generation after generation is staying in the housing projects because it's too difficult to pull yourself up by the bootstraps, because there aren't many mechanisms for doing so or any real hope of getting out.

"I think we as a nation have to figure out a way to promote family, to instill in poorer communities that it's okay to marry, that we're not going to penalize you for being married," he concluded.

Gloria Rodriguez spoke up, "I'd like to add something.

We do have a fathers' program, and it's not only helping to strengthen the marriage and the communication between husband and wife, where they are together, but also helping the men deal with their aggression and their anger.

"From our research, we find that 60 percent of the mothers are experiencing depression," she said. "But what we find with the men is that they're going into alcoholism, they're in and out of jail; they are angry at the world. This is especially true for Hispanics, who think they're machos—they're the men of the house and the providers. And we have stripped them of their manhood, taken away their children. The women get the children—they get the money, the welfare; they get the housing. We basically have told the man, 'You are worth nothing and you need to be out of the house.'"

In her 23 years at Avance, Rodriguez said, "I have seen how men have tried to stay in, and the system has put them out. We have a video at Avance in which there's a man who says, 'I use to be planting my seeds everywhere.' He had no commitment to any woman. Finally, when he came to Avance, he realized his responsibility to the child he had created. Because of that, for the first time, he built a relationship with a woman."

She concluded, "The statement that he makes on the video is that, finally, someone treated him with dignity and respect; someone helped him and his needs. Most of the time, we help the women and we don't help the men. The statement he ends up with is, 'It feels good that we are able to help each other. Society has helped me, so now I in turn will help society.'"

Rick Rosenfeld reiterated, "If we're going to talk about the family as an institution, we can't do that in any sensible way apart from marriage. At least, I don't know how to do it. Marriage is precisely the bond, in Hawkins' terms, that confers on families the status of an institution as opposed to simply a set of hygienic social relations and practices. So if we're going to talk in any realistic way about families to our kids, we have to talk about marriage. And by that, I mean, the formal relationship and responsibilities of adult men and women to one another and their children.

"Eric Davis made the important point—'Look, we've got to be realistic,'" Rosenfeld said. "I couldn't agree more. I would simply say, we cannot talk realistically to children about what makes for good parenting apart from the responsibilities and obligations of husbands and wives.

"In response to Gloria Rodriguez's concerns about and efforts to help husbands and wives manage difficult relationships, I would say that's great," he continued. "But we need to anticipate that with kids. We need to provide some model of what it's going to be like to relate to one another as young men and women in a responsible fashion. What are the models of marriage in the family support and parent training programs out there? What are kids told these days in those programs about marriage? Not just about parenting."

Rosenfeld added, "The courtship institutions that used to prepare young people for marriage have disappeared. Somebody mentioned to me recently that her daughter had asked her, 'Mom, what was it like in the days when kids went out on dates?'

"I have an 18-year-old son, graduating from high school, and I don't think he's all that unusual. I can probably count on the fingers of one hand what I would consider a date that he's had. I'm not proposing that we return to the oppressive courtship practices we once knew. I'm simply reminding us that those courtship institutions were there to prepare people for another institution—marriage. That they have disappeared by and large, that relationships between young men and women—especially in inner-city environments, but in suburban ones as well—are increasingly tension-filled as a result, has something to do with the levels of anxiety and the levels of tension and violence that we observe among young people."

Otis Johnson said, "This is why I put my comments in the context of culture and socialization, because we're losing the value of the family and we're losing a lot of other values that used to be a part of the system that was passed on from generation to generation. I think that if we are to recreate some commitment to the family, then we've got to lift that up as a value and change social policy so that it is more family friendly than family unfriendly. And we've got a lot of family unfriendly social policy now that works against the formation of families."

The Issue of Gender

Rosenfeld raised another issue: "Also conspicuous by its omission from our discussion has been the issue of gender. One of the things that boneheaded criminologists do when asked how we can reduce violence is to begin searching for

examples of non-violence. In this conference we've essentially been describing and trying to explain the violence of young men. We have at hand the perfect counter example: women and young women. And yet, we've talked very little about women and young women.

"Let me use Jeff Fagan's discussion as just one example," he continued. "Jeff talked about the dynamics of violence in personal situations. In principle, most of those processes he described apply equally well to women and to men. But women exhibit levels of interpersonal violence that are much lower than those of men, and, despite some concerns to the contrary, there's no good evidence that they are going up.

"There are many reasons for this," Rosenfeld said. "But in part it's because, I would assert, women are attached to, embedded in, and, to a large degree, responsible for those institutional practices that support, nurture, and sustain community. The sense of mutual obligation and collective responsibility—the responsibility of all for all—without which, organized social life itself would be impossible. It wouldn't even been thinkable.

"Otis Johnson notes in his paper that major agents of socialization are not working right; they've fallen off track," he said. "It seems to me the question, then, that a gendered discussion of crime and violence puts on the table is this: How can we alter the socialization of boys and young men so that it leads, with respect to violence, to their behaving more like girls and women? That's what it comes down to.

"Now one can imagine presenting those words to young men and the response one would get," Rosenfeld acknowledged. "But if we're going to face the issue honestly, that's what it comes down to. How can we get young men, at least with respect to violence, to behave more like young women—though I'm not at all sure that's what Otis Johnson meant when he talked about getting socialization on track. We know we can alter socialization practices, because we have in some substantial way altered them for young women. Much, much less change is detectable in how boys are socialized. The sex role system has changed in a very asymmetric way."

Jeff Fagan spoke up, "I think Rick and I both agree about the issues of masculinity. If you go back to my paper, there's hyper-masculinity laced on every page. I think we might disagree on some fine points—we don't want to roll the mayor's eyeballs up—but we sure do want to think about a socialization dimension to curricula in the school that deals specifically with the question of gender."

Rosenfeld added, "I would argue that every single family support and parent effectiveness program that is evaluated with an eye to reducing male violence should be evaluated with respect to the question: How does this program alter socialization in such a way that, with respect to violence, boys behave more like girls and women?"

There Are No Children Here

APPENDIX B

Alex Kotlowitz, author of the best-selling *There Are No Children Here*, an account of two years in the lives of two boys living in the Henry Horner Homes public housing complex on Chicago's near west side, gave a speech at the conference that put a human face on the many statistics and analyses that conferees brought to bear on the issue of youth violence.

Kotlowitz opened by recounting a vignette from his book: "The book follows two young brothers, Lafeyette and Pharoah, who one day decided they wanted to hunt for garter snakes. Being urban kids, they didn't have the foggiest idea of where to look. So, for lack of a better place, they went to the railroad tracks just a couple of blocks away and brought with them six friends and four crowbars, figuring they would dig for snakes. Well, while they were up on the railroad tracks, a suburban commuter train began to wend its way from downtown Chicago."

He continued, "I had and still have many friends who ride that train, and they tell me that as the train passes through Chicago's blighted west side they often sit away from the windows because they are fearful that the children in that neighborhood are going to throw rocks at them or, worse yet, that some talented sniper is going to shoot at them from the rooftops.

"As that train approached the children, they panicked," Kotlowitz said. "Lafeyette and his friend James hoisted themselves into an empty boxcar that sat alongside the tracks. A couple of the boys slung themselves behind the high wheels of the boxcar, and Pharoah and his cousin Porkchop, both of whom were quite small at the time, hurled themselves into some high weeds. One of the boys, in fact, was so afraid that he burst into tears. And what the children so feared was the rumors they had heard that the suburban commuters were going to shoot at them as the train passed through their neighborhood.

"I think that tale stands as a very powerful metaphor for the very deep and wide chasm that separates the two Americas," he declared. "It's that chasm between rich and poor, white and black that makes it difficult for us to talk honestly and pointedly about the unsettling rise in youth violence. So let me be up front from the start about my bias and about my central concern. Yes, there is a rise in youth violence, but if we're to be honest about it, the place where it has had the most devastating impact is on our central city communities.

"James Fox has reported that black males aged 14 through 24, while remaining only about one percent of the population, as victims of violence, their numbers have increased from 17 to 30 percent," Kotlowitz noted. "Those are astonishingly frightening statistics. The state of poor children growing up in communities like Henry Horner, I believe, is the most urgent domestic issue facing us today. These children are our future. We can walk through the streets of the central city, and it does not take great psychic powers to see what the future holds. It is not good. These neighborhoods are among the worst in the world to grow up in and certainly among the most dangerous. Consider that a young black male has a greater chance of being killed on the streets of our cities than a soldier did in a tour of combat in Vietnam.

"Let me start off by talking about something that on the surface may not seem to relate directly to the issue of violence, and that is a kind of breakdown or unraveling of community," Kotlowitz said. "I remember when I first began to spend time on Chicago's west side, I expected to find a very strong sense of community. In fact, I had heard stories, perhaps apocryphal, of families given the chance to leave a place like Henry Horner turning it down because of strong ties to family and friends."

He went on, "What I found was a community that not only distrusted outsiders like myself, which I certainly expected, but a community in which neighbors distrusted neighbors. I can remember when I first began to spend time

with Lafeyette, I asked him if he would introduce me to some of his friends. Lafeyette said to me, 'I don't have friends, I just have associates. Friends you trust.'

"I think there are a number of reasons for this breakdown in community," Kotlowitz said, "one of them being the loss of jobs. Eighty-eight percent of all poor families do not have any family member who works, and I believe that work is the thread that holds the social fabric together. There are a number of reasons for the loss of jobs that I think we're all familiar with—the decline in manufacturing jobs and lower-skilled employment, the growing suburbanization and globalization of jobs, and increased reluctance on the part of employers to hire inner-city blacks. But what I think is important to understand here, and this is something that William Julius Wilson talks about quite eloquently, is both the reality and the culture of work. The reality of work, I think, is fairly obvious: It provides a source of income for families. But the culture of work is really about people's sense of connection. Without jobs, people lose that sense of connection, that sense of purpose. They lose a sense of order, a sense of time. And I think that's very important to understand in terms of the unraveling or breakdown of community."

He continued, "The other consequence we see is the absence of institutions that most of us take for granted: No banks, just currency exchanges. These are communities without movie theaters, libraries, bowling alleys, or skating rinks for the children—communities in which there are few grocery stores and few restaurants. These are neighborhoods that are void of the private institutions that help create community. These are also communities in which the church is no longer the factor it once was; communities in which there are few, if any, social service agencies. In fact, at Henry Horner, in the 1970s there were 13 social service agencies; today there are only three, and that's if you include four sisters from Mother Teresa's order who have soup kitchens there. Adding to this spiritual isolation is geographic isolation. We live in cities which are certainly as segregated, if not more so, than they were 30 or 40 years ago. That is quickly apparent to anybody who drives through the city of Chicago, where you find that the black community is primarily based on the west and south sides of the city.

"One of the consequences I saw, particularly in the kids, of this breakdown of community was loyalties that became enormously divided," Kotlowitz said. "One Saturday afternoon I went over to ask Lafeyette if he wanted to join me for lunch. Lafeyette had a friend over named Isaac, and he asked me whether Isaac could join us. I said, 'Absolutely.' And I asked Isaac to go home and get permission from his mom. Well, Isaac left, and a couple of minutes later there was a knock at the door. Lafeyette and I went to answer the door. At the door were two uniformed police officers, a man and a woman, and they had with them a picture of Isaac. They asked Lafeyette and they asked me whether we had seen this boy. Well, Lafeyette lied. Lafeyette said he hadn't seen Isaac in two or three days, and I said absolutely nothing.

"There is no question in my mind that if this had happened just a year and a half or two years earlier I would have asked the police why they were looking for Isaac, and, assuming that it was some legitimate and credible reason, would have said, 'Look, not only have I just seen this kid, if you wait around a few minutes he'll probably be back,'" he said. "But I found that in just the short time I had spent in Henry Horner my own loyalties had become divided—my loyalties to the police and the authorities whom I had been brought up to trust and respect; my loyalties to this boy Isaac, whom I hardly knew; my loyalties to my dear friend Lafeyette, who clearly didn't want the police to know of Isaac's whereabouts; and, perhaps most important, my loyalties to myself, to what I knew was right. And as I thought about how divided my own loyalties were, I thought about how divided the loyalties of this 12-year-old boy Lafeyette must be and how these children with such split loyalties become kind of spiritual nomads with no one to turn to—often, not even themselves. As a footnote to this, it turned out that the police were looking for Isaac because he had run away from home. So when Isaac got back, Lafeyette and I took him back to his mom's.

"I mention this unraveling of community because I think it has a direct relation to the growing violence in these neighborhoods," Kotlowitz said. "Without getting into a debate as to which came first, I would argue that the unraveling of community breeds violence, breeds distrust, breeds spiritual isolation. And, in turn, the growing violence unravels community.

"Let me talk a little bit about the effects of the violence on these children," he continued. "In the two years that I spent with Lafeyette and Pharoah, they lost three friends, all 19 years of age and younger, in very violent ways. After I'd

finished reporting the book and was in the process of writing. Lafeyette watched as a friend of his was shot in the lobby of one of the high-rises; Pharoah watched as a friend of his was shot in the back of the neck; and both boys watched as an older friend of theirs was wheeled out of a nearby restaurant after a holdup attempt. These are children 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 years of age—children who will see more violence than most of us will see in a lifetime.

"About a year ago I was invited to speak to a seventh-grade class at the Brown Elementary School, which serves that same neighborhood," Kotlowitz recalled. "I asked what has become a fairly familiar reportorial question: 'How many of you have seen somebody shot or stabbed?' All but two or three hands in the classroom went up. I then asked them how many people they thought in my 40 years I had seen shot or stabbed; the estimates were 4, 5, 6, 7 people. I had to tell them that in my 40 years I had never seen anybody shot or stabbed and that my experience, with the exception of war veterans, was probably more typical than theirs.

"This made me realize how much violence has become an integral part of the lives of these children," Kotlowitz remarked. "I think what we tend to underestimate is that around even one act of violence, the rest of childhood will evolve. In the children I saw who witnessed the violence in their neighborhood at Henry Horner, I saw the very same kind of post-traumatic stress disorder we saw in veterans returning from combat in Vietnam. I saw children who were more aggressive, who acted out conflict in violent ways. I saw children who were hyperactive. In fact, a constant complaint of the teachers in the elementary schools is of children virtually bouncing off the walls. Well, hyperactivity is a direct consequence of bearing witness to such trauma. I saw children who were depressed; it's not at all uncommon to go into a community like Henry Horner and find particularly young boys with dark circles under their eyes, children who clearly have trouble sleeping. I saw children who had flashbacks; there's a boy in my book, Ricky, who at the age of 12 watched as his 15-year-old cousin was shot and killed on the lawn outside his high-rise. This boy, who had a terrible temper, told me that whenever he would get angry, he would relive the moment when his cousin died. And this same boy, a year later, at the age of 13, said to me, 'I wish I was eight years old again.' Here is a child wishing for his childhood back.

"It's no wonder to me that many of these kids, as they become adolescents and young adults, turn to drugs as a kind of self-medication, particularly for depression," he said. "I used to drive from my home in the suburb just west of the city to downtown, and every day I would pass a storefront that had been boarded up on the corner of Washington and Cicero. On the plywood some child had taken magic marker to hand and written four times: 'I like myself, I like myself, I like myself, I like myself.'

"There's a strong foreboding among these kids that they won't make it to adulthood," Kotlowitz pointed out. "I can remember when I first began to spend time with Lafeyette, who was nine years old at the time. I asked him what he wanted to be when he grew up. He said to me, 'If I grow up, I want to be a bus driver.' *If*, not when.

"There's also among these children a distinct inability to build meaningful relationships in their lives," he observed. "I refer back to what Lafeyette said earlier, which is, 'I don't have friends; I just have associates. Friends you trust.'

"Also associated with the unraveling of community is the issue of silence," Kotlowitz said. "There are two kinds of silence I see that affect the lives of these children. One is fairly obvious, the other, much more subtle. The obvious kind of silence is the institutional silence that surrounds the lives of children like Lafeyette and Pharoah, the inability of institutions like the schools, the juvenile courts, the police, the public housing authorities, to respond to what have become weekly, if not daily, crises in the lives of these kids." He added, "This is not to suggest that there are not individuals in these institutions with a great deal of compassion and commitment, nor is it to suggest that there are not individuals at the helms of some of these institutions with a great deal of compassion or commitment.

"Let me just give you a quick example of what I mean by this. There is a moment in my book when a friend of Lafeyette's and Pharoah's, an 11-year-old boy, Alonzo Campbell, on a Saturday morning is walking into his high-rise and is shot in the head. He's caught in the crossfire of two gangs." He paused, "I'll get back to Alonzo in a minute, but just a few days earlier an incident had happened in Winnetka, a suburb just north of the city, in which a psychotic woman, Laurie Dann, stormed into the Hubbard Woods elementary school, shooting seven children—killing one of them, an eight-year-old boy, Nicholas Corwin. What struck me was how ably and appropriately that community responded to the

crisis. There were teams of psychologists and social workers bused into the community to counsel not only the children but also the adults in their lives—the teachers and the parents. The governor called for increased school security. There were cries for tighter gun control legislation.

"Let me now fast-forward to Saturday morning," Kotlowitz said. "Alonzo, thankfully, lived, but nobody—nobody—counseled Alonzo; nobody comforted Lafeyette and Pharoah. In fact, if anything, the children in that community were discouraged from talking about the incident out of fear that if they did, they would somehow be held culpable for the crime. No adult came into that community and said, 'We will do what we can to make sure that such an incident doesn't happen again.' That is the kind of institutional silence I'm talking about.

"The other kind of silence is somewhat more subtle and, frankly, something I didn't come to terms with until after my book was published," he said. "It is a kind of self-imposed silence on the part of people, particularly the children, living in communities like Henry Horner. I remember first being confronted with this when I was on a tour promoting my book and being interviewed by a black reporter a few years younger than myself. I was talking to him about the institutional silence, and when I looked at him, there were tears in his eyes. He said to me, 'You know, I grew up in public housing in Detroit, and I've never spoken to my wife of those years.'

"I thought about it afterwards and realized that during the two years I had spent at Henry Horner, I had found it virtually impossible to talk to even the closest of friends and family about all that I had seen and all that I had heard," Kotlowitz recalled. "Part of it was that, emotionally, I didn't know what to do with it all, but as I thought back upon it, I realized that I in fact feared if I shared with even the closest of friends and family all that I had seen and all that I had heard, they might not believe me.

"And this raises something very, very important," he declared. "The issue of believability—the fear, particularly among the kids, that they won't be believed—because much of what goes on in these communities, particularly regarding the violence, approaches unbelievability.

"A few years ago, we were fortunate enough to sell the book as a made-for-TV movie, produced by and starring Oprah Winfrey," Kotlowitz remembered. "When the first of two screenwriters came out, I was to be kind of his tour guide to the community, to introduce him to the neighborhood and the people I wrote about. He was a very quiet, soft-spoken gentleman from New York, and as we began to spend time together I began to get this uneasy feeling he didn't believe all that I had written. So I took him to the worst high-rises, I pointed out the meanest gang members and the big-time drug dealers. Finally, on the fourth and last day, he and I and two friends of mine who live and work at the neighboring housing complex, Rockwell Gardens, went to a restaurant on the west side. As we were sitting in our booth, a young boy, maybe 13, 14 years of age, ran into the restaurant and ducked behind the heating grill. As he ducked, a group of boys walked by, and one of them pulled a pistol out of a brown paper bag and started shooting. Needless to say, we all feared for our lives as we ducked under the table. And I can remember, as we lay there, curled under that table, all I could think to myself was, 'Now he's going to believe me.'

"I think this kind of silence, this kind of self-imposed silence, is the most painful and destructive kind of silence there is, and it is the kind of silence that will slowly strangle the life out of an otherwise spirited people," he declared. "It says to me something very, very simple, and that is that we must start listening again, and we must start believing—particularly listening to the voices of the children, to their stories, to their narratives, to really give them a voice, to let them know that they are not alone.

"Beyond that, I think we need to find ways to rebuild the community, both physically and spiritually," Kotlowitz said. "I think if we really want to talk about stemming the rise of violence and youth violence in our central cities, we must talk about ways of rebuilding the community. The obvious place to begin is to provide jobs, to provide employment.

"I don't know that I have any easy answers for this," he acknowledged. "I don't know that any of us do. The question that has been posed to me often is, 'What do we do while we're waiting for work?' I would suggest that there are a number of things we can do while we're waiting for work. I think we need to find a way to use the schools, particularly the elementary schools, as a kind of building block or foundation for rebuilding a sense of community. I think there's a real myth out there about the elementary schools in our central cities, that these schools are chaotic, disorderly, unsafe places. In fact, I think you'll find that if you were to go into most ele-

mentary schools in our central city neighborhoods, you'd find places that are safe, that are orderly, that are clean, and places, in fact, where children want to be. If you look at the attendance rates for children in Chicago at the elementary schools, you'll find that the attendance rate is 95 percent, an indication to me that the children want to be there.

"The other facet of this is that I think that the school is the one institution remaining in these neighborhoods with any semblance of respect and dignity left," Kotlowitz continued. "So we need to find ways to build on that. We need to find ways to keep schools open in the afternoons and evenings as a place for children to go for recreation, a quiet place to do homework, a place perhaps where they and/or their parents can receive counseling, a place where their parents can go for adult education classes. But we need to find a way to use the school as a kind of building block to rebuild the sense of community.

"I also think that it's terribly important as we talk about rebuilding community that we try not to look at things as being so vertically compartmentalized," he said. "Let me give you an example of what I mean by this. As bad as Henry Horner is and was, the Rockwell Gardens housing complex just west of Henry Horner was considerably worse. So bad, in fact, that in 1988 when Vince Lane came in to take over the Chicago Housing Authority, it was the first housing complex he reclaimed from the gangs. He went in there with a large contingent of police and private security guards. They went from apartment to apartment; they provided 24-hour-a-day security; and, sure enough, for the next year-and-a-half to two years the violence in that community diminished considerably.

"During that same period of time, the test scores of the children at the Ulysses S. Grant Elementary School, which sits smack in the middle of that housing complex, rose quite dramatically," Kotlowitz pointed out. "No new programs, no new teachers, no changes in the curriculum—but the children finally felt safe going to and from school. Again, this was an indication to me of how related these issues are and that if we can't provide a safe environment for these children we may have a very difficult time trying to educate them.

"I also think it's important that we begin to deal with violence as an issue of public health," he added. "The program that I point to most often is a program in New Haven in which the police are instructed that when they respond to some act of violence, if there is any child involved either as a witness or as relative of the victim, the child is immediately referred to the Yale School of Psychiatry for counseling. Think of it, if a child witnesses an act of violence, or if a child loses a close relative, it seems only natural that we should reach out as adults right away to try to get that child to confront and deal with that trauma.

"Having said all this, I want to say that what most concerns me in this whole debate over what to do about youth violence is the political," Kotlowitz went on. "I think all of us familiar with conditions in communities like Henry Horner know what is wrong. We know why children become angry. We know why children sometimes treat life with such apparent callousness. We know why they often give up. We know, for example, that dismantling our juvenile justice system will, in the long run, do nothing to diminish the violence, and in the end may only contribute to the violence as children lose contact with nurturing adults. We know that throwing children off of welfare will only make them more desperate. We know that without investing in our schools so that they invigorate and challenge, children will lose a sense of self, a sense of future. We know that without some real type of gun control legislation, access to weapons, including semi-automatic and automatic weapons, will only become easier, not more difficult for our children. And yet, for politicians, for our civic leaders to admit any of these facts seems, at the moment, like political suicide.

"Those of us truly concerned about what is happening in these neighborhoods, about what is happening to these children, must come together and figure out a way that we can get these issues back on the political agenda, somehow make them more politically palatable," he declared. "I've wrestled with this long and hard, and I'm not sure that I have any easy answers to this, but I do have a couple of thoughts. One is, I think it's important that we continue talking about children. I think it's very important that the focus is on youth violence, because there's a certain universality about childhood, and if we can somehow get that across to people who might not have reason to experience what a Lafeyette or a Pharoah does, we may be able to build connections, bridges. We also must find a way to put a human face on the people living in these communities, both the perpetrators and the victims, to try to un-demonize them."

Kotlowitz continued, "But as I thought about it, I rec-

ognized that there really is a fundamental ideological rift, and it comes down to this: There are those of us who believe that we must have some structural changes in our economy and new directions politically, a belief that government can help rebuild community. And there are those who believe it has everything to do with personal responsibility, with people making choices, the right choices. The Republicans, the conservatives, I think, have cornered this debate, for I believe there's a large feeling out there in white America, 'Why should we help a people who don't appear willing or able to help themselves?'

"I'm hoping that maybe this is beginning to change, in part catalyzed by the Million Man March last year," he said. "I, like many people, particularly being a Jew, was appalled by the fact that it gave prominence to Farrakhan. But having said that, politically, it was, either intentionally or unintentionally quite savvy, because it was all about personal responsibility—people going back home and making a difference in their communities and in their families. Maybe that's what it will take for the rest of America to pause and say, 'Well, poor black Americans recognize that they have some responsibility here, some choices to make. Now we must find a way to level that playing field, to provide opportunity, to provide assistance, to provide choices.'

"So I'm hopeful that last year's march may signify some shift, however incremental, in the thinking of both the political left and right," he said.

"But having said all of that, let me tell you where my greatest hope lies, and that is with the children," he continued. "When I started working on my book—and again, I focused on children, all boys, 9 to 14 years of age—I expected to find a very large number of these kids involved in drugs and gangs and criminal activity, and I found some of all of that. But what I found for the most part was children who had a very clear sense of right and wrong, children who had a very strong sense of what they wanted to be and didn't want to be when they got older, children who still had a vision, however blurred it might be, children who were still questioning the world around them. I learned that it wasn't until these children came to be 15, 16, 17 years of age that the currents would become so strong that they often couldn't swim against them. So, if we want to talk about a foundation for rebuilding community, we have it in our children. That is clear to me.

"I want to end with just a very short anecdote," Kotlowitz said. "Shortly after my book came out, the family I wrote about moved out of public housing. One afternoon, I happened to be driving by the first-floor apartment they had lived in and saw that it had been boarded up. I ran into Pharoah, the younger of the two boys, later on that day. I told Pharoah, who is a very thoughtful kid, that his apartment had been boarded up, and I asked him how that made him feel. Pharoah mused it over for a minute or so and said to me, 'I guess that means I can board up some of my memories.' What that said to me is that somehow, somehow we have got to be able to provide a childhood from which these children don't feel they need to run."

Papers Presented at the Conference

Alfred Blumstein, "Youth Violence, Guns, and the Illicit Drug Industry," *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Northwestern University School of Law, Volume 86, Number 1, Fall 1995.

Jeffrey Fagan and Deanna L. Wilkerson (forthcoming 1997), "The Functions of Adolescent Violence," *Violence in the Schools*, edited by Delbert S. Elliott and Beatrix Hamburg, Cambridge University Press, New York.

Jeffrey Fagan and R. A. Freeman (forthcoming), "Legal and Illegal Work: Crime, Work and Unemployment," *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research*, Volume 23, edited by Michael Tonry, University of Chicago Press.

Denise Gottfredson, "Violence Prevention for Eleven to Eighteen Year-Olds," Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice, University of Maryland, May 1996. [Parts of this paper are taken from Gottfredson, Sealock & Koper (1996)].

Peter W. Greenwood, Karyn E. Model, C. Peter Rydell, and James Chiesa, "Diverting Children from a Life of Crime: What are the Costs and Benefits?" RAND, MR-699-UCB/RC/IF, 1996, 1700 Main Street, P.O. Box 2138, Santa Monica, CA 90407-2138, http://www.rand.org.

Donald J. Hernandez, "Children's Changing Access to Resources: A Historical Perspective," *Social Policy Report*, Society for Research in Child Development, Volume VIII, Number 1, Spring 1994, University of Michigan, 300 North Ingalls, 10th Floor, Ann Arbor, MI 48109-0406.

Otis S. Johnson, "Clickety Clack, Clickety Clack, American Society Has Gone Gotten off the Socialization Track," Chatham-Savannah Youth Futures Authority, 316 East Bay Street, Savannah, GA 31401.

Mark H. Moore, "The Police and the Prevention of Youth Violence," John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 79 JFK Street, Cambridge, MA 02138.

Hirokazu Yoshikawa, "Long-Term Effects of Early Childhood Programs on Social Outcomes and Delinquency," *The Future of Children*, Volume 5, Number 3, Winter 1995, David and Lucile Packard Foundation, 300 Second St. Los Altos, CA 94022 http://www.futureofchildren.org.

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